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Old Nubian Relative Clauses

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Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei*

1. Introduction

In this article, I venture to offer an in-depth analysis of the structure of Old Nubian relative clauses (henceforth, RCS), in an attempt to reorganize and consolidate the observations made in Gerald M. Browne's *Old Nubian Grammar*,¹ Helmut Satzinger's earlier article "Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen,"² and Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst's *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*.³ Satzinger's article, our first extensive source for the grammatical analysis of Old Nubian RCS, was written in response to a series of grammatical observations by Browne in *Studies in Old Nubian*.⁴ However, this response was unfortunately never fully incorporated into *Old Nubian Grammar*,⁵ where Browne discusses RCS in §§4.4–6.⁶ In these few dense and somewhat confusing paragraphs, Browne organizes Old Nubian RCS mainly based on word order, without clearly marking out syntactical relations, thus losing much of the insights of Satzinger's more structured approach. Bechhaus-Gerst offers the most recent analysis of Old Nubian RC constructions in *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, in an attempt to integrate the approaches of Satzinger and Browne, but remarks that "a thorough analysis [...] would go beyond the scope," of her study.⁷ During the preparation of this article we have also consulted comparative material from related contemporary Nile

* I would like to thank Issameddin Awad, Angelika Jakobi, and Giovanni Ruffini for their comments and suggestions during the various stages of writing this article.

1 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*.

2 SATZINGER, "Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen."

3 BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, esp. pp. 207–11. Glossing has been occasionally adjusted to match the set of abbreviations listed in fn. 16.

4 BROWNE, *Studies in Old Nubian*.

5 Browne refers to Satzinger's approach as a "somewhat different orientation" (BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, p. 83, fn. 99).

6 Browne further combines relative constructions with temporal and adverbial subordinate clauses in *Old Nubian Grammar*, §4.7, which I will not consider here. However, I touch upon conditional and final clauses in "A Note on the Old Nubian Morpheme -a in Nominal and Verbal Predicates." See also BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, pp. 105–10.

7 BECHHAUS-GERST, *ibid.*, p. 207.

Nubian languages⁸: the dissertation of Isameddin Awad on subordination in Nobiin [fia],⁹ an article by Abdel-Hafiz Sokarno for Kenzi/Kunuz Nubian data [xnz],¹⁰ and recent work by Angelika Jakobi and El-Shafie El-Guzuuli on RCS in Dongolawi/Andaandi [dgl].¹¹

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The present paper, glossing and methodically expanding the analyses of the examples adduced by Browne and Satzinger, aims to consolidate the sometimes divergent interpretations offered by Satzinger, Browne, and Bechhaus-Gerst, in an attempt to integrate Old Nubian RCS in a general syntactic framework and to harmonize their analyses with insights from contemporary syntactic theory and comparative material from closely related Nubian languages. This will hopefully allow us to make finer distinctions between the different types of Old Nubian RCS and discuss several pertinent overarching themes, such as leftward movement and extraposition, which owing to relatively marginal penetration of contemporary syntactical theory in Old Nubian studies have so far received little attention.

2. Brief overview

We will start with an overview of attributive RCS in §3, divided between coreferential (the subject of the RC is coreferential with the antecedent of the RC) in §3.1 and non-coreferential (the subject of the RC is not coreferential with the antecedent of the RC) in §3.2. Non-coreferential RCS are further subdivided into those with overt subjects (§3.2.1) and those without overt subjects (§3.2.2). As we will see, the presence or absence of an overt subject influences the morphology of the verb in the RC. For both coreferential and non-coreferential RCS I will also discuss exceptions to the general pattern in which RCS are seemingly postnominal. Section 3.1.1 treats coreferential RCS that have moved leftward and only allow for a restrictive reading. In §3.3.1 we will treat several exceptions with non-coreferential RCS that seem to be generated prenominal, and RCS of time, place, and manner (§3.3.2). Finally, §3.4 deals with constructions in which non-coreferential RCS show an anaphor coindexed with the antecedent. Free RCS, those without an overt antecedent, are treated in §4 according to their grammatical function in the main clause, starting with subject clauses (§4.1) and object clauses (§4.2), which also include different types of complement clauses (§4.2.1–2). Section 4.3 deals with free RCS in other, secondary positions. A specific section (§5) is devoted to RCS in combination with the so-called pred-

8 See RILLY, *Le méroïtique et sa famille linguistique*, p. 165, for a brief discussion. Language abbreviations follow the ISO 639–3 standard employed by *Ethnologue*.

9 AWAD, *The Characteristic Features of Non-Kernel Sentences in Nobiin*. I have adjusted some of Awad's Nobiin orthography based on suggestions by Angelika Jakobi.

10 ABDEL-HAFIZ, "Nubian Relative Clauses."

11 JAKOBI & EL-GUZUULI, "Relative Clauses in Andaandi."

icative suffix -a, including nominal predicates (§5.1), complex verbal predicates, also called periphrastic constructions (§5.2), RCS in vocative or appellative contexts (§5.3), and adjunctive/appositional clauses, which usually feature only a bare -a suffix without any additional tense morphology (§5.4). Sections 5.5–7 deal with a series of more complex syntactical constructions, including the topicalization through -cin of the antecedent of an RC (§5.5), RCS in the scope of quantifiers (§5.6), and finally quantifier raising through -cin (§5.7). Section 6 treats with two different types of extraposition, in which (part of) the RC appears to have moved to the right of the clause, motivated by the heaviness of the RC. We have distinguished two types of extraposition, depending on whether the non-coreferential RC shows verbal agreement (§6.1) or not (§6.2). Finally, §7 deals with preterite tense morphology in RCS, which appears to be distributed according to whether the RC is coreferential or not. An concluding overview is given schematically in §8.

3. Attributive relative clauses

Attributive RCS are full clauses showing tense morphology, and may feature an overt subject and be introduced by a relative pronoun. An RC is embedded with the main clause, connected through an antecedent that has a syntactical function both in the embedded and in the main clause. If the subject of the RC coincides with its antecedent, we speak of a coreferential attributive RC. If this is not the case, the attributive RC is called non-coreferential. The distinction between coreferential and non-coreferential attributive RCS in Old Nubian is reflected in the syntax, whence Satzinger labels coreferential attributive RCS as “Type A,” and non-coreferential ones as “Type B.” Bechhaus-Gerst broadly follows Satzinger’s categorization, whereas Browne makes no descriptive distinction between the two types, lumping both under the heading “adjectival conversion.”¹²

Old Nubian is an *sov* language, like Japanese, Turkish, Dutch, or the other Nile Nubian languages.¹³ This generalization allows us to make several predictions about its general syntactic structure. First we expect all phrasal heads to align on the right side. This seems to be generally the case when we inspect verb inflection, which consistently appears on the right edge, and nominal inflection (case and determiner). Also note the fact that Old Nubian has postpositions instead of prepositions. This generalization implies that any syntactical construction that on the surface does not follow this general principle will be suspected of movement. Within Nubian languages, whose NP structure is generally very stable and predictable,¹⁴ the

¹² BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §4.6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, §4.9.1.

¹⁴ Cf. ALAMIN, “Noun Phrase Construction in Nubian Languages.”

neutral or default position for attributive RCS, whether coreferential or non-coreferential, seems to be postnominal. As we will see below, the majority of Old Nubian examples in the extant literature shows this order, which is corroborated by contemporary Nile Nubian languages.¹⁵

- 1a *man* [_{rel} *buru ir-iin doll-ee*] *ii*
 CF 497 DEM.DIST girl 2SG-GEN love-COMP1 NOM
 Nobiin *tan-jutti-li*
 3SG.POSS-niece-COP2.PRS.3SG¹⁶
 “The girl whom you love is his niece”
- 1b *tod* [_{rel} *een-gi jom-e-l*] *nog-s-u*
 NRC 497 boy woman-ACC hit-PST-COMP go-PST-3SG
 Kenzi “The boy that hit the woman left”
- 1c *ogij* [_{rel} *in kaa=r aag-il*]
 RCA 2 man DEM.PROX house=LOC live-PTCP.IPFV
 Andaandi *am-beena-n*
 1PL.POSS-uncle-COP.3SG
 “The man who lives in this house is my uncle” / “The man living in this house is my uncle”

Ex. 1a shows a non-coreferential attributive RC in Nobiin. The antecedent *man buru* does not correspond to the subject of the RC, which is the genitive-marked subject *iriin*.¹⁷ The entire subject is, as would be expected in an SOV language, marked at its left edge by first the complementizer *-ee* and then the nominative case marker *ii*. Ex. 1b

- 15 List of sigla: CF: AWAD, *The Characteristic Features of Non-Kernel Sentences in Nobiin*; HN: BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*; M.: VAN GERVEN OEI & EL-GUZZULI, *The Miracle of Saint Mina*; NRC: ABDEL-HAFIZ, “Nubian Relative Clauses”; ONG: BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*; P. Q1 1: PLUMLEY & BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim I*; P. Q1 2: BROWNE, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim II*; P. Q1 4: RUFFINI, *The Bishop, the Eparch, and the King*; RCA: JAKOBI & EL-GUZZULI, “Relative Clauses in Andaandi”; RTA: SATZINGER, “Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen.” Other sigla follow ONG, §0.3.
- 16 List of abbreviations: 1, 2, 3 – first, second, third person; ACC – accusative; AFF – affirmative; app – apposition; c – coordinator/conjunction; CAUS – causative; CL – clitic; COM – comitative; COMP – complementizer; comp – complement clause; COMPL – completive; CONSUET – consuetudinal; COP – copula; DAT – dative; DEM – demonstrative pronoun; DET – determiner; DIR – directive; DIST – distal; EMP – emphatic clitic; EXCL – exclusive; FIN – final; FOC – focus; FUT – future; GEN – genitive; HUM – human; IMP – imperative; INCH – inchoative; INCL – inclusive; INTER – interrogative pronoun; IPFV – imperfective; J – juncture vowel; LOC – locative; NEG – negative; NOM – nominative; NOMLZ – nominalizer; NP – noun phrase; PASS – passive; PL – plural; PACT – pluractional; PRED – predicative/predicate; PRS – present; PST – past; PT1 – preterite 1; PT2 – preterite 2; PTCP – participle; POSS – possessive; PROX – proximal; Q – question marker; QUOTE – direct speech marker; REFL – reflexive; REL – relative pronoun; rel – relative clause; SSC – same-subject converb; t – trace; TR – transitive; VET – vetitive; VOC – vocative.
- 17 (Nearly) all subjects in non-coreferential relative clauses in Nile Nubian are marked with the genitive case, see §3.2.

shows a coreferential attributive RC in Kenzi, with the RC marked by the complementizer *-l*. In both examples, the RC follows the antecedent. In both Kenzi and Nobiin, the RC marker (*-ee* in ex. 1a; *-l* in ex. 1b) changes based on whether the RC is coreferential or not. As Old Nubian RCs do not feature any distinctive marking on the right edge, such morphological variation has not been observed.¹⁸

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In strictly SOV languages such as Turkish and Japanese, RCs, like all other modifiers, are prenominal.¹⁹ In order to account for RCs that seem to be postnominal in SOV languages, such as Dutch and Nubian languages, the so-called head-raising analysis of RCs posits that antecedents originate within the RC and move leftward to a position preceding the RC,²⁰ leaving a gap or trace in the RC, marked by *t*.²¹

[_{rel} *tod eengi jomel*] → *tod* [_{rel} *t_i eengi jomel*]

2

= ex. 1b

The movement illustrated in ex. 2 itself is subjected to certain constraints, as we will find in §3.4. For the remainder of this paper we will mostly assume this movement, and for reasons of simplicity not indicate it in the examples unless necessary. In certain Nubian languages, including Old Nubian, RCs can also appear prenominally. The motivation here is always semantic. Whereas Abdel-Hafiz does not provide any other type of constituent order, Awad provides us with examples of attributive RCs that precede the antecedent.

[_{rel} *ir-iin doll-ee*]-*n* *buru ii*
 2SG-GEN love-COMP1-GEN girl NOM
tan-juti-li
 3SG.POSS-niece-COP2.PRS.3SG
 “The girl you love is his niece”

3

CF 499
Nobiin

The postnominal RC in ex. 1a differs in two aspects from the prenominal RC in ex. 3. First, the RC is marked by the genitive case, suggesting that it has moved into the position where normally the genitive-marked possessor would appear; second, Awad indicates that *buru* can no longer be preceded by the demonstrative *man*, supposedly because all possessed nouns are by definition determinate. We will see in §3.1.1 that also in Old Nubian, leftward movement of a RC is accompanied by different morphology in the RC and is motivated by semantics. Awad also presents headless RCs as a third possibility, which we will discuss in §4 as free RCs.

18 However, there seems to be a specific distribution of the two preterite tense morphemes in attributive relative clauses. See §7.

19 Cf. PAYNE, *Describing Morphosyntax*, p. 327.

20 See, for example, KAYNE, *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*, pp. 86ff.

21 Following Comrie's classification, Old Nubian RCs are of the gap type. See COMRIE, *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*, p. 151.

3.1 Coreferential attributive relative clauses

Coreferential attributive RCS without an object basically correspond to adjectival constructions with a participle,²² such as in English “the singing man,” in the sentence “the singing man walks on the street,” which may alternatively be rendered as “the man that sings walks on the street.” The subject of the participle “singing” corresponds with the subject of the main verb “walks,” i.e., “man.” In Old Nubian, these constructions can only be formed by means of a participial form consisting of at least a verbal root, tense/aspect suffix, and the determiner $-(\epsilon/\iota)\lambda$,²³ which, however, is dropped before overt case marking. Coreferential attributive RCS generally appear after the noun, and, as a rule, number, case marking, and any other type of right edge suffix (conjunctions, focus, etc.) only appear on the right edge of the entire noun phrase that contains the RC.

We find the following general pattern for coreferential attributive RCS:

4 [... Antec-J [_{rel} ... Verb-Tense/Asp]]-Det/Num/Case

5 ḥlo pi-na ioudaios-gou-n ourou-ou
 L. 113.5–6 is-lo pi-na [ioudaios-gou-n ourou-ou
 ONG §4.6a inter-LOC exist-PRS.2/3SG Jew-PL-GEN king-J
 [_{rel} ounn-outak-o]]-l
 bear-PASS-PT1-DET
 “Where is the born king of the Jews?”

The RC, formed by the single embedded verb $\text{o}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{r}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{u}$ - “born,” follows the antecedent noun phrase $\text{i}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{u}}\ddot{\text{d}}\text{a}\text{i}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{s}\text{g}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{u}\text{n}$ $\text{o}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{r}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{u}$ “king of the Jews,” which is also its antecedent.²⁴ Note that the antecedent $\text{i}\ddot{\text{o}}\ddot{\text{u}}\ddot{\text{d}}\text{a}\text{i}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{s}\text{g}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{u}\text{n}$ $\text{o}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{r}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{u}$ ends in what I usually refer to as a juncture vowel, whereas Satzinger calls it an “Appositiv”) and Browne the “annective,” “an anaptyctic juncture vowel (‘Bindevokal’) inserted between two words that closely cohere.”²⁵ The same juncture, or epenthetic vowel may be observed in adjectival constructions and should not be confused with a case ending such as accusative or genitive, as it is purely a noun phrase-internal phenomenon.²⁶

22 Cf. SATZINGER, “Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen,” p. 186. Browne and Satzinger refer to participles a “verbids.”

23 See VAN GERVEN OEI, “The Old Nubian Memorial for King George,” pp. 256–62. The precise distribution between the vowels ϵ and ι when following a consonant is still uncertain. In Andaandi the different vowels indicate perfective and imperfective aspect, and this may also be the case in Old Nubian. See JAKOBI & EL-GUZUULI, “Relative Clauses in Andaandi,” p. 91.

24 I have left nominative case marking, which is $-\emptyset$ in Old Nubian, unglossed throughout.

25 SATZINGER, “Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen,” p. 186 et passim; BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.6.5.

26 The same juncture vowel appears sometimes on personal pronouns, e.g. ex. 32. Its precise distribution, which seems to be of a morphosyntactic nature, has not yet been adequately described.

εΥΑCṢṢ EINNAṢṢ TḲLOṢ ḏṢṢ EILA ΔΕΙCṢṢΑΡΑ ΤΟΥΡΙ
eu-a-sin ein-na-sin [till-ou [_{rel} aṢṢ]]-in
 fear-PRED-EMP be-PRS.2/3SG.PRED-EMP god-J live-GEN
ei-la deiṣar-a touri
 hand-DAT fall.TR-PRED ?

“(For) it is to fear to fall into the hands of the God who lives.”

6

K. 33.5-7
RTA 1

15

In this example, in which the final word *τουρι* remains unaccounted for,²⁷ the RC under the antecedent *τḲλοṣ* consists of a single verb *ḏṢṢ*-, without overt tense marking (and therefore by default present tense) and no determiner -*λ* due to the presence of the genitive case marking at the end of the noun phrase *τḲλοṣ ḏṢṢ*-, which is attributive to *ειλα*: “into the hand(s) of the living God.”

εἰ ἡΑΝ [ΤΑΥΚ?]ΛΟ ΔΟΥΛΛΑΓΑΔΧΟΥΛ ΜΕΙΘΡΑΓΟΥ ΕΝΔṢṢΗΑΝΑ
[ei [_{rel} man tauk-lo doull-aṣ-ad]]-il-gou-l
 man DEM.DIST time-LOC exist-INC-FUT-DET-PL-DET
meijr-a-gou en-d-immana
 disobey.TR-PRED-PL be-FUT-AFF.3PL

“The men who will come into being in that time(?) will be disobedient”

7

K. 22.14-23.2
RTA 13

Satzinger is correct to interpret the *ἡΑΝ* in the RC not as a relative pronoun, but rather as a deictic element referring to the emended noun *ταυκ*- “time.” He suggests, contra Browne,²⁸ that overt complementizers only appear in non-coreferential attributive clauses, which seems to be confirmed by our survey of the extant Old Nubian material. In ex. 7 we again find all nominal inflectional material on the right edge of the noun. The double determiner before and after the plural suffix is a common occurrence (see also exx. 8, 34, 35, 49, 72, 74).²⁹ Also note the truncated predicative plural -*αρου*, where we would, according to Browne, expect -*αρουε*.³⁰ Perhaps it was dropped because of the initial *ε*- of the copula. In the lines following this example, the verb *ΕΝΔṢṢΗΑΝΑ* is repeated several times with different adjectival predicates marked by predicative -*α*, except K. 23.4 *ḱκοητκṢṢ*- “ungrateful,” ending with the privative adjective marker -*κṢṢ*, which seems to be directly connected to the verb, and the irregular predicative plural of K. 23.8-9 *μαΔṢṢακκαε* “liars.”

The case marking in the embedded phrase is not always complete:

27 In BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, p. 59, Browne gives the Greek gloss φοβερόν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν for *εΥΑCṢṢ* [...] *ΔΕΙCṢṢΑΡΑ ΤΟΥΡΙ*. It is possible that we are dealing here with a complementizer. Angelika Jakobi (p.c.) suggests that it is an unknown form of the verb *top*- “to enter,” contributing to the meaning “fall into.”

28 Cf. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §4.6.

29 See also VAN GERVEN OEI, “The Old Nubian Memorial for King George,” p. 260.

30 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.5.2.

αγγελου κολου ποτου κολοτ κονολγολλον τεκκονο
μεδαλιστανα ποτοτκα ουφenoγδ̣

[aggelos-ou kolot-ou [_{rel} potot-i kolot
angel-J seven-J trumpet-J seven
kon-l-o]]-l-gou-ll-on tek-k-ono

have-DET-PT1-DET-PL-DET-C 3PL-ACC-REFL
medd-il-η-is-ana potot-ka ouš-enoua

ready-DET-INCH-PT2-3PL.PRED trumpet-ACC sound-FIN.2/3SG

“And the seven angels who had seven trumpets readied themselves
to sound the trumpet”

The attributive RC in this example clearly shows how the juncture vowels basically appear inside the noun phrase as a placeholder where we would otherwise expect number and case marking to appear, which, however, no matter how heavy the noun phrase, always appears only at the right edge of the RC. The RC ποτου κολοτ κονολ- has two peculiar features. First, the accusative case marking -κα that we would expect on κολοτ has been dropped (cf. ex. 20, below). Perhaps this is a scribal error because the author conflated it with the initial *kappa* of the verb, or perhaps we should interpret the absence of the accusative case with the verb “to have” as an intermediate stage between κο- as an active verb with an object in the accusative case, and -κο as an adjectival suffix, which is well attested elsewhere.³¹ The second curiosity is the appearance of the determiner -λ behind the verbal root κον- and before the preterite 1 suffix -ο (Browne marks it with a “sic”). Although a determiner in this position has been regularly attested in case of, for example, modal suffixes (e.g. μεδαλ-λ-ι- in the above example), its appearance directly preceding a tense suffix is exceedingly rare.

3.1.1 Leftward movement: semantic restriction

Whereas in exx. 5-8, the RC followed the antecedent, it may also precede it, as in Nobiin ex. 3. There are a few examples present in the Old Nubian corpus that show this inverse order; as is clear from the morphology, we are dealing here with a type of leftward movement that seems to be semantically motivated, and that is restricted to coreferential attributive RCs. This is also suggested by the Nobiin exx. 1 and 3, where ex. 3 has a restricted meaning.³²

9 [... [_{rel} ... Verb-Tense/Asp]_i-Det [Antec t_j]-Det/Num/Case

Let us inspect this first example:

31 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.4.2. According to Jakobi (p.c.), in Andaandi the accusative case marker may sometimes be dropped in the context of the verb *ko*.

32 Isameddin Awad, p.c.

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If we disregard the initial material in the phrase $\epsilon\tilde{n}$ γαλακῶφει $\epsilon\omega\kappa$ κονοῖλ ἀφελ $\kappa\epsilon\mu\omega-$, and focus our attention on the phrasal element $\epsilon\omega\kappa$ κονοῖλ ἀφελ, we find a pattern similar to ex. 10. $\epsilon\omega\kappa$ κονοῖλ has moved leftward and adjoined to the determiner phrase. As in the previous example, the motivation may have been semantic in nature, restricting the meaning of ἀφελ: the “glory-having creatures” instead of the non-restrictive “the creatures that have glory.” We will have to leave the grammatical analysis of $\epsilon\tilde{n}$, γαλακῶφει, and $\kappa\epsilon\mu\omega-$ aside for the moment, but let me briefly say that relative pronouns always appear in the topmost position of the determiner phrase, and numerals such as $\kappa\epsilon\mu\omega-$ always appear phrase final. Note further that the suffix $-\alpha\alpha$ in $\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\lambda\alpha\alpha\delta\alpha\mu\omega$ here should be interpreted as the transitivity marker $-\alpha\pi$ with regressive assimilation preceding the pluractional suffix $-\delta$. If it had been the future suffix $-\alpha\alpha$, it would have followed the pluractional suffix.

3.2 Non-coreferential attributive relative clauses

Non-coreferential attributive RCs are RCs in which the subject of the RC does not coincide with the antecedent. In Old Nubian, we can distinguish two subcategories, namely those in which the subject of the RC is overtly expressed (Satzinger’s “Type B1”), and those in which it is not (Satzinger’s “Type B2”). Whereas these RCs behave similarly when in situ, we will discover that under extraposition this difference becomes morphologically explicit (§6). Also differently from coreferential attributive RCs, non-coreferential ones may feature a relative pronoun, either $\epsilon\tilde{n}$ “this” or $\mu\alpha\tilde{n}$ “that.”³⁴ Another difference is that non-coreferential attributive RCs cannot move to the left of the antecedent, as described in §3.1.1.

3.2.1 Non-coreferential with an overt subject in RC

In case the subject of the RC is overtly expressed, it nearly always appears in the genitive case, whereas the verb usually shows no agreement, therefore appearing similar to the embedded verbal forms found in coreferential attributive RCs.

12 [... Antec-J [_{rel} (Rel) [Subj-GEN Verb-Tense/Asp]]]-Det/Num/Case

13 $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\tilde{n}$ $\tau\alpha\tilde{n}'na$ $\kappa\tilde{\iota}\pi\tilde{\varsigma}$ $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\lambda$ $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\tau\alpha\pi\tilde{\iota}$ $\delta\tilde{\iota}\psi\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha$
 [*koumpou* [_{rel} *ein* [*tan-na* *kip-s*]]]-*il*
 egg REL 3SG-GEN eat-PT2-DET
doumal doutrap aṅ-r-aṅ-a
 suddenly fowl live-TR-INCH-PRED
 “The egg that he had eaten suddenly coming to life as a fowl”

M. 12.2-3
ONG §4.6a

34 See PAYNE, *Describing Morphosyntax*, p. 333. I have been unable to find any semantic or syntactic constraint on their distribution.

We find here a non-coreferential attributive RC with a relative pronoun $\epsilon\tilde{n}$ in the topmost position. The subject of the RC $\tau\alpha\tilde{n}'na$ $k\tilde{p}\bar{c}$ -, $\tau\alpha\tilde{n}'na$, is marked with the genitive case, and the entire clause is marked on the right edge with a determiner $-\lambda$. Note also that the juncture vowel that we expect after $\kappa\omicron\gamma\mu\pi\omicron\gamma$ has been dropped after $-\omicron\gamma$.

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$\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha\tilde{n}\gamma\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\tilde{r}[c]na$ $\tau\epsilon\tilde{r}\bar{n}$ $\delta\epsilon\lambda\gamma\bar{\alpha}$ $\omicron\phi\bar{n}$ $\mu\alpha[p]\kappa\omicron\gamma$ hn $\epsilon\tilde{r}\bar{n}$ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\lambda\omega$
anktan-gou-ka ouskar-isna ter-in aei-laua
 concern.PL-PL-ACC place.TR-PT2.2/3SG.PRED3PL-GEN heart-within
 [$\omicron\tilde{n}$ -in *park-ou* [$_{rel}$ $\tilde{e}n$ [$\epsilon\tilde{r}$ -in *aou-s*]]]- $\tilde{l}\bar{o}$
 tear-GEN valley-J REL 2SG-GEN make-PT2-LOC
 “He placed concerns within their heart in the valley of tears that
 you made.” (Ps. 83:5-6)

14

P. QI 12.ii.8-10
 RTA 8
 ONG §4.6a

Apart from the slightly erroneous translation of Psalm 83:5-6, which *inter alia* seems to omit a rendering of $\alpha\nu\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and misinterprets $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ as $\tau\epsilon\tilde{r}\bar{n}$, the clause itself is grammatical and the attributive construction straightforward. The RC with overt subject hn $\epsilon\tilde{r}\bar{n}$ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa$ - “that you made” has as its antecedent $\omicron\phi\bar{n}$ $\mu\alpha[p]\kappa\omicron\gamma$, ending in a juncture vowel. The embedded verb $\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa$ - shows no agreement marking because of the overt subject. Finally the locative marker $-\lambda\omega$ is attached to the entire noun phrase on the right edge. Satzinger suggests, *pace* Browne, that $\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\lambda\omega$ ought to be analyzed as $*aous-il-\tilde{l}\bar{o}$, with some type of regressive assimilation. However, none of the extant forms in the Old Nubian corpus suggest that this analysis is correct, nor that it is necessary; the $-(i/e)l$ that Browne and Satzinger assume as the marker of the participle or “verbid” only appears in a nominative context as a determiner, and forms no intrinsic part of any “participial” morphology.

3.2.2 Non-coreferential without an overt subject in RC

In case the subject of the RC is not overtly expressed, we find agreement marking on the main verb of the RC. The following pattern emerges:

[... Antec-J [$_{rel}$ (Rel) [Verb-Tense/Asp/Agr]]]-Det/Num/Case

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$\epsilon\tilde{l}on$ $mn\kappa\tau\eta\pi\omicron\gamma$ $\epsilon\tilde{k}\kappa\alpha$ $\epsilon\tilde{k}\iota\delta\alpha\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$ $\mu\lambda\lambda\bar{i}\gamma\bar{r}\bar{\alpha}$ $\Delta\epsilon\phi\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{c}\bar{o}$
el-on [mēstēr-ou [$_{rel}$ $\epsilon\tilde{i}k$ -ka $\epsilon\tilde{k}\iota\delta$ -rou]]-ka ou-ka
 now-C mystery-J 2SG-ACC ask-PRS.1/2PL-ACC 1PL-ACC
pill-igr-a deñ-j-eso
 shine-CAUS-PRED give.1-PLACT-IMP.2SG
 “And now reveal us the mystery that we ask you about”

16

St. 5.4-7
 RTA 5
 ONG §4.6a

The verb of the RC $\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$ - shows agreement marking, as the subject “we” is not overtly expressed, and the indirect object of the ditransitive $\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma$ -, $\bar{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\alpha$, is marked with the accusative case. The verb phrase $\eta\lambda\lambda\iota\gamma\rho\alpha$ $\Delta\epsilon\varphi\theta\epsilon\sigma\omicron$ in the main clause consists of the verb $\eta\lambda\lambda$ - “to shine,” which, together with the causative suffix is usually translated by “to reveal.” The verb $\Delta\epsilon\varphi$ - here functions as a benefactive or applicative, adding the semantic role of the indirect object $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$ “to us.”³⁵

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K. 20.15–17
ONG, p. 83, n. 100

$\alpha\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota\eta$ $\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\rho\lambda$ $\kappa\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\eta$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda$ $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron$ $\kappa\epsilon\eta\omicron\rho\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$
alesin ouetr-il keik-a pes-en
truly anyone-DET blaspheme-PRED say-PRS.2/3SG
[*proskol* [_{rel} *kisse-llo* *ken-j-ran*]]-gou-ka
offering church-LOC place-PLACT-PRS.3PL-PL-ACC
“If anyone blasphemes and says about the offerings that they place
in the church”

Like ex. 16, we find here a non-coreferential attributive RC, with the antecedent $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda$, without a juncture vowel, perhaps because we are dealing here with a loanword from Greek,³⁶ or because of the phonologically unstable nature of -λ. The RC $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron$ $\kappa\epsilon\eta\omicron\rho\alpha\eta$ - has as its subject a non-overt third person plural, as can be determined from the morphology on the verb. The object of the verb $\kappa\epsilon\eta\omicron\rho\alpha\eta$ - is the antecedent $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\omicron\lambda$.

18

P. QI 2 13.ii.24–28
RTA 7

$\Gamma\alpha\sigma\delta\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\bar{\eta}$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$ $\tau\lambda\lambda$ $\tau\alpha\rho\bar{\eta}$ $\sigma\epsilon\gamma\bar{\alpha}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha$ [...] $\bar{\imath}\alpha\kappa\omega\beta\iota\eta$ $\Gamma\alpha\delta\delta\omicron\gamma\rho$ $\eta\eta$ ¹
 $\omicron\gamma\kappa\kappa\bar{\eta}\Delta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\kappa\alpha$
gas-j-ara-sin ou-ka till-il tar-in
choose-PLACT-PT1.PRED-EMP 1PL-ACC God-DET 3SG-GEN
seu-ae-gar-a
inherit-NMLZ.PL-CAUS-PRED
[*iakōb-in* *gajjour* [_{rel} *ēn* [*ous-s-in*]]]-dekel-ka
Jacob-GEN beauty REL LOVE-PT2-2/3SG-C-ACC
“God chose us to cause (us) to be his inheritors of the beauty of
Jacob which he loved” (Ps. 46:5)

This example is syntactically rather complex, as it seems that the scribe attempted to imitate the Greek word order of Psalm 46:5 in this bilingual fragment: $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\zeta\alpha\tau\omicron$ $<\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma>$ $\bar{\omicron}$ $\bar{\theta}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\tau\eta\eta\eta$ $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\eta$ $\bar{\epsilon}\alpha\gamma\tau\omicron\eta$ [...] τ ² $\kappa\alpha\lambda\eta\eta\eta$ $\eta\eta$ $\bar{\imath}\alpha\kappa\omega\beta$ $\Delta\Gamma\alpha\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon\eta$ (P. QI 2 13.ii.23–26, the Septuagint reads as follows: $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\tau\omicron$ $\eta\mu\bar{\iota}\nu$ $\tau\eta\eta\eta$ $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\eta\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\eta$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\tau\eta\eta$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\eta\eta$ $\bar{\imath}$ $\bar{\imath}\alpha\kappa\omega\beta$, $\eta\eta$ $\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\sigma\epsilon\eta$). The interpretation of the sentence

35 For an overview of the benefactive/applicative in Old Nubian and Nobiin, see BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, pp. 142–7.

36 Cf. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, p. 152.

depends on whether the attributive RC ἰακωβιν [...] οὐκ ἔκελεκα is interpreted as the object of ἔακωβιν or of ἐγὰρ. Browne opts for neither, translating with the rather puzzling “God chose us, making (us) his heirs and the beauty of Jacob, which he loved,” somehow attempting to coordinate ἐγὰρ with the RC, ignoring the accusative case marker. If οὐκα is interpreted as the direct object of ἔακωβιν, the entire attributive RC ἰακωβιν [...] οὐκ ἔκελεκα can only be read as an object to the verbal root ἐγ- “inherit,” with possibly the nominalizing predicative plural suffix -δε,³⁷ causative, and predicative suffix. The interpretation of the attributive construction itself is straightforward. The RC ἡν οὐκ ἔκελεκα is dependent on the antecedent ἰακωβιν ἔακωβιν, here without a juncture vowel because of the presence of the clause-initial relative pronoun ἡν.

21

In a few rare cases, we find that both the genitive subject and person morphology on the verb may be overt in the RC:

ἔλονδεεῖον δεκκιῖρμενἀρῆλο· ἔεῖοῦ ἐν οὐννα αἰκα ἔκιδροῦκον
elon-de-eeion dekk-igir-men-dre-lo [*ḡeei-ou* [_{rel} *ein*
 now-C-C conceal-CAUS-NEG-FUT.1SG.PRED-FOC thing-J REL
 [*oun-na* *ai-ka* *ekid-rou*]]]-k-on
 1PL.EXCL/2PL-GEN 1SG-ACC ask-PRS.1/2PL-ACC-C
 “And now also I will not conceal the thing that you asked me”

19

St. 6.4-7
RTA 9

The RC, indicated by the relative pronoun ἐν has as its antecedent ἔεῖοῦ, ending in a juncture vowel, and the entire attributive RC is the object of the verb δεκκιῖρμενἀρῆλο. What is curious about the RC is that it features both an overt subject οὐννα in the genitive case and the verb ἔκιδροῦ-, with overt person morphology. Satzinger suggests an interpretation of this double occurrence of overt subject and agreement marking by supposing a disambiguation strategy, mistakenly assuming that οὐννα is exclusively the genitive-marked pronoun for the second person plural, which is not the case. So neither the overt subject, nor the overt person marking disambiguates the other; it is the indirect object αἰκα that makes a reading “the thing that we (EXCL) asked myself” rather implausible.

3.3 More on the left

There are several examples of non-coreferential attributive clauses appearing in a position that precedes the antecedent. In these cases we are dealing with two patterns. In the first pattern, RCs seem to have been generated in situ, and are marked with the juncture vowel that we normally find on the antecedent when it precedes the RC, whereas the antecedent is marked with the customary number and

37 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.5.2e.

case marking (§3.3.1). In these cases, the RC seems to appear in the position of the adjective. The second pattern, which only occurs in the case of RCS of time, place, and manner, the RC is either generated in the position of the possessor, or is moved there, being marked by the genitive case (§3.3.2).

22

3.3.1 Preceding non-coreferential attributive RCS

As we have seen in §3.1.1, preceding coreferential attributive RCS are the result of movement driven by semantics. These clauses also show a specific morphological pattern, always being marked by the determiner α . There is, however, also a small class of examples that feature a non-coreferential RC preceding its antecedent, which seems to be constructed in a way similar to phrases such as $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\varsigma}\sigma\upsilon\ \mu\eta\eta\alpha$, where the adjective precedes the noun.

20	$\pi\epsilon\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma\iota\ \xi\alpha\rho\mu\iota\ \zeta\tau\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\nu}\ \tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\alpha\ \alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\ \alpha\prime\ \pi\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\iota\ \epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha$
gr. 4.1-2	$\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha$
RTA 38	<i>petros-i harm-i kolotit-in tere-gou-ka koñ-j-ra</i>
	Peter-J heaven-J seventh-GEN key-PL-ACC have-PLACT-PRS.PRED
	$[[_{rel}\ \alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\text{-}\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\varsigma\text{-}\varsigma]\text{-}i\ \eta\alpha\pi\epsilon]\text{-}gou\text{-}ka\ tok\text{-}ar\text{-}a$
	1SG say-PRED say-PT2-J sins-PL-ACC forgive-PT1-PRED
	“Peter, who has the keys of the seventh heaven, who has forgiven the sins that I have said”

This complex example from one of Griffith’s graffiti contains several RCS which we will inspect in more detail below in ex. 62. Note here, however, the attributive relative construction $\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\ \alpha\prime\ \pi\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\iota\ \epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha$, the object of $\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha$. It seems to be the case that the non-coreferential RC $\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\ \alpha\prime\ \pi\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\iota$ precedes its antecedent $\epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha$. Moreover, unlike the examples in §3.1.1, it is marked by a juncture vowel α and not by a determiner, and its subject appears in the nominative instead of in the genitive case. Another example shows a similar pattern:

21	$\epsilon\iota\tilde{\alpha}\rho\iota\ \omicron\mathrm{N}\ \epsilon\iota\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\upsilon\ \imath\tilde{\iota}\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\ \chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\iota\kappa\alpha$
SC 9.13-14	<i>eiar-i on [[_{rel} eit-iss]-ou iēsous-i khristos]-ika</i>
OND §4.6a	know-PRED? C send-PT2-J Jesus-J Christ-ACC
	“And to know Jesus Christ whom you sent” (Jn. 17:3)

Again this is an example taken from a larger, more complex sentence (ex. 79). But as in ex. 20 we may notice the non-coreferential attributive RC $\epsilon\iota\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\upsilon$ preceding its antecedent $\imath\tilde{\iota}\varsigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\ \chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\iota\kappa\alpha$. In both cases, an explanation as in §3.1.1 seems unlikely, in the sense that the marking of the RCS and antecedents follow exactly the same pattern as in exx. 5–8, albeit with RC and antecedent in reverse order. Also the fact that the RC in ex. 20 shows a nominative subject,

suggests that we are dealing here with a different type of construction. However, there is not enough Old Nubian data and an absence of comparative data from modern Nile Nubian languages to allow for a full explanation.

3.3.2 Non-coreferential relative clauses of time, place, and manner

23

As already suggested by Browne and Satzinger in their respective treatments of RCS, expressions of place and time follow a different template, in which the RC is marked with a genitive case and always precedes its antecedent.

μαριον ιη̄σοϋ̄ς̄ν [Δ]οϋ̄ε̄ς̄ν γοϋ̄λλο{ν} κ̄ιεν	22
<i>mari-on</i> [_{rel} <i>iēsous-in</i> <i>dou-es</i>]- <i>in</i> <i>goul</i>]- <i>lo</i> <i>ki-en</i>	P. QI 1 4.11.1-2
Mary-C Jesus-GEN be-PT2-GEN place-LOC come-PRS.2/3SG	RTA 45
“And when Mary came to the place where Jesus stayed”	

The attributive relative construction could also be literally translated as “to the place of Jesus’s staying,” and is otherwise grammatically unremarkable. The following examples provide further illustration:

τε̄ννα Δοϋ̄ε̄ς̄ν τᾱγκα η̄ϋ̄ϋ̄αννο[ε̄ιο]ν οϋ̄ε̄ροϋ̄ε̄λΔαλ ῑ̄ττᾱᾱᾱνᾱ	23
[_{rel} <i>ten-na</i> <i>dou-es</i>]- <i>in</i> <i>tauk</i>]- <i>a</i> <i>miššan-no-eion</i>	P. QI 2
3PL-GEN be-PT2-GEN time-PRED all-FOC-C	10.A.ii.9-10
<i>ouerouel-dal</i> <i>gittas-sana</i>	RTA 46
each.other-COM be.like?-PT2.3PL.PRED	
“And all the time that they existed they were like each other”	
[ι]ε̄ροϋ̄σᾱλιμκᾱ εκ̄κ̄Δ̄ Δᾱᾱᾱν τᾱγκ[λ]ο̄ε̄ι<ο>ν̄	24
[_{rel} <i>ierousalim-ka</i> <i>ekkid</i> <i>da-san</i>] <i>tauk</i>]- <i>lo-eion</i>	P. QI 2 14.i.1-2
Jerusalem-ACC be.near.TR be-PT2.3PL.GEN time-LOC-C	RTA 47
“And at the time that they were near Jerusalem”	

Note that in this example the genitive -N has merged with the tense/person marker -CAN.

τᾱρῑο̄ ο̄ο̄ο[κ̄κ]ᾱ κᾱπε̄σοϋ̄ν οϋ̄κοϋ̄ρρ̄ω	25
[_{rel} [0 [_{rel} <i>tar-io</i> <i>joo</i>]]- <i>k-ka</i> <i>kap-es-ou</i>]- <i>n</i> <i>oukour-rō</i>	SC 21.3-4
3SG-LOC go-DET-ACC eat-PT2-2PL-GEN day-LOC	OND §4.6C
“On the day that you have eaten that which comes from it” ³⁸	

The same strategy may be observed in Nobiin, where RCS of place and time always seem to precede their antecedents, and are marked with the genitive case. For example:

38 This example contains a free relative clause, see §4.

26 *an-uu* *ii* [_{rel} *ir-iin* *kora-ga*
 CF 547 1SG.POSS-grandfather NOM 2SG-GEN football-ACC
 Nobiin *batar-ee]-n* *agar* *aag-i*
 play-COMP1-GEN place stay-PRS.3SG
 “My grandfather is staying at the place where you play football”

24

As in the Old Nubian examples above, the antecedent *agar* follows the RC *iriin koraga bataree-n*, which is marked by a genitive. Note, however, that this pattern, which in Old Nubian is only found in case of RCs of place and time, seems to have been generalized in later stages of language development until the attributive RC construction of RC + genitive preceding the antecedent became a commonly accepted pattern for all restrictive RCs (cf. Nobiin ex. 3).

In the same context, Awad's discussion of rcs of manner in Nobiin also allows us to shed light on an otherwise obscure construction in what Browne identifies as the Old Nubian version of a homily attributed to St. John Chrysostom:

27 τῆλῃ ἀγροῦτκα ἀνκίμινεσὸ· γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο
SC 9,18-21 ᾧ ἀνέκανθονκα οὕριγαρεσι[ἐνκω].
RTA 41 *till-ik aurout-ka ank-imin-eso*
ONG §4.6C God-ACC alone-ACC consider-NEG-IMP.2SG
 [[_{rel} *gad-arj-es-in*] -n-a akdatt] -ou aurout-k-ende
 flesh-INCH-PT2-3SG-GEN-PRED order?-J alone-ACC-C
 adinkan-gou-ka ouer-igar-es-ik-enkō
 both-PL-ACC one-CAUS-PT2-ACC-but
 “Don’t consider God alone, nor only the order in which he became
 flesh, but both as made one”

The syntax of this fragment is complicated, as there is only one main verb, ἀνκινῖνeco, with object τῶλᾶ and its apposition ἀπογῦτκα. In the second part of the sentence the same verb is implied, with the entire clause γαλαλεγεῖνna ἀκ[Δ]ατῖτογ ἀπογῦτκ- as object. In the third part the object of the implied verb is δᾶλῆκανγογκα. οὐερίπαρεσικ- here is technically not an extraposed RC (see §6), but rather an apposition just like ἀπογῦτκα, in a construction “consider *x* as *y*.” The form γαλαλεγεῖνna in the second part of the clause, however, seems more puzzling. If we followed Browne and translate γαλαλεγεῖνna ἀκ[Δ]ατῖτ- as “construction that became flesh” (his Greek retrotranslation has οἰκονομίαν for ἀκ[Δ]ατῖτ-) we would not expect to find a coreferential attributive RC to precede with this type of complex morphology: no agreement ought to be present in coreferential attributive clauses (cf. §3.1.1), and the -na suffix would remain completely unexplained. If we would apply our observations thus far, we would conclude that γαλαλεγεῖνna must be a non-coreferential attributive

RC, and Browne's translation of $\Delta\kappa[\Delta]\Delta\tau\dot{\tau}$ - as "construction" and subject of $\Gamma\Delta\Delta\Delta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\eta\eta\Delta$ is incorrect. Moreover, it follows none of the patterns observed in §3.3.1; in that case we would expect something like **gadañesi akdatt*-. The only remaining option is that we are dealing with some type of RC of place, time, or manner, which ends in a genitive and precedes its antecedent. This assumption allows us to explain the agreement suffix - \bar{n} (the RC is non-coreferential without explicit subject), the subsequent genitive - n (RC of time, place, or manner), and its position in front of the antecedent. However, the - Δ would remain unaccounted for; in exx. 22–5 the genitive case always appeared as -(i) n . If we observe the following example from Nobiin, however, it becomes clear that we are dealing here with a predicative - Δ , which may have been preserved in Nobiin in RCS of manner as a same-subject converb:

25

<i>man</i>	<i>ideen</i>	<i>an-een</i>	<i>aaw-ee-n</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kir</i>	28
DEM.DIST	woman	1SG.POSS-mother	do-COMPI-GEN	SSC	way	CF 551
<i>jelli-ga</i>	<i>aaw-i</i>					Nobiin
job-ACC	do-PRS.3SG					
"The woman does her job in the same way as my mother does" ³⁹						

We may observe here that the RC *aneen aaween-a* preceding the antecedent *kir* is marked by both the genitive and *a*, here glossed as same-subject converb. However, recall that one of the functions of the Old Nubian predicative suffix - Δ is precisely marking verbs with the same subject. I suggest that the same is the case in ex. 27, and that consequently the translation of $\Delta\kappa[\Delta]\Delta\tau\dot{\tau}$ - in ex. 26 as "construction" is erroneous. In his *Old Nubian Dictionary*, Browne rightly observes that we are probably dealing with some type of nominalized form with - τ of the habitual verb $\Delta\kappa$ -, or its derivative $\Delta\kappa\Delta\Delta\kappa$ - "to set up," which already suggests a mode or manner of doing things. The suggested Greek retrotranslation $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ suggests something similar. I have therefore opted here tentatively for the neutral translation "order" while suggesting that just like in Nobiin ex. 28 we are dealing with a RC of manner.

3.4 Anaphors

According to the head raising analysis of RCS, antecedents of an RC are originally generated within the RC and subsequently move up to a higher (in the case of Old Nubian, leftward) position. Without delving into the technical details, this movement may explain the appearance of the juncture vowel that we mentioned before, and the fact that the neutral position of attributive clauses seems to be

39 Cf. also AWAD, *The Characteristic Features of Non-Kernel Sentences in Nobiin*, ex. 633.

following the noun, rather than preceding it. It also predicts that there are certain syntactic positions within the RC, organized on a hierarchical scale,⁴⁰ that do not allow for relativization, such as possessor and postposition phrases. Old Nubian seems to conform this generalization: subjects and objects can be relativized (also called extracted), whereas other syntactic functions cannot.⁴¹ In case relativization is impossible, we find an anaphor – also called PRO or “resumptive pronoun”⁴² – which in Old Nubian is always a form of the third person singular pronoun $\tau\alpha\rho$.

29a
P. QI 11.i.7–8
RTA 4
 $\bar{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\ \epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\omicron[\bar{\alpha}\iota\bar{\nu}\alpha]\ \tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\kappa\iota\bar{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\epsilon\lambda$
agend-a-lō [*eit-ou* [_{rel} *ηod-ina tan_i ηape-gou-ka*
blessed-PRED-FOC man-J lord-GEN 3SG.GEN sin-PL-ACC
ank-ij-men-d]]-el
remember-PLACT-NEG-FUT-DET
“Blessed is the man whose sins the Lord will not remember”
(Ps. 31:2)

29b
RCA 14a
Andaandi
in tannan [*ogij_i* [_{rel} *tenn_i ossi*
DEM.PROX COP man 3SG.GEN leg
bud-s-in-tirti]]
dislocated-PT2-3SG-HUM.COMP
“This is the man whose leg was dislocated”

Ex. 29a follows the pattern of non-coreferential attributive clauses discussed in §3.2.1, but this time we find an anaphor $\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}$ “his” coindexed with the antecedent $\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$, as possessor phrases do not allow extraction. The same occurs in Andaandi in ex. 29b, where we find the anaphor *tenn* in a similar position. Anaphors also appear in the case of oblique phrases such as locatives:

30a
P. QI 11.ii.4–5
ONG §4.6a
 $\dots[\gamma\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\epsilon\bar{\cdot}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\gamma\ \epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \tau\bar{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\ \bar{\omicron}\bar{\omega}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\cdot}$
-gad-d-re [*dau_i* [_{rel} *ein* [*tar_i-io jō-en*]]]-nō
-CAUS-FUT-PRS.1SG.PRED path REL 3SG-LOC go-PRS.2/3SG-LOC
“I will [guide (*vel sim.*) you] on the path on which you go” (Ps. 31:8)

30b
RCA 17b
Andaandi
in tannan [*beled_i* [_{rel} *ay ter_i=do ogol=lo*
DEM.PROX COP country 1SG 3SG=LOC before=LOC
taa-s-i]]
come-PT2-1SG

40 See KEENAN & COMRIE, “Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar.”

41 Owing to a lack of examples, it is unclear whether indirect objects can be extracted, that is, can become an antecedent to an RC in which its syntactical function would be that of an indirect object, e.g. “the person John wanted to give a present to.”

42 JAKOBI & EL-GUZUULI, “Relative Clauses in Andaandi,” p. 97.

“This is the country to which I came before”

Just like $\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma$ in ex. 29a, $\Delta\Delta\gamma$ cannot be extracted from a postpositional phrase in the RC, which is the reason why we find the locative-marked anaphor $\tau\alpha\rho\iota\omicron$. Browne’s suggestion that $\epsilon\tilde{n}$ is here a postponed “regular” demonstrative pronoun is erroneous; demonstrative pronouns in Old Nubian never follow nominal heads. The same construction can be found in Andaandi, ex. 30b. A similar anaphor construction is found in the next example, which however cannot be faithfully rendered in English:

27

$\kappa\omicron\epsilon\tilde{r}\ \epsilon\tilde{n}\ \epsilon\lambda\ \tau\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\ \delta\omega\kappa[\kappa\alpha]\ \kappa[\alpha]\ \mu\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\eta\alpha$
[koeir_i [rel ein [el tar_i-io jōo]]]-k-ka
 tree REL NOW 3SG-LOC go-DET-ACC
kap-a-tamē-a
 eat-PRED-VET.2SG-QUOTE
 “Do not eat that which now comes from the tree’ (lit. ‘do not eat the tree which now comes from it’)”

31

SC 22.6–9
 ONG §3.9.15

Finally, anaphors also appear in contexts i

n which raising is impossible due to intervening constituents, such as adjectival phrases:

32

P. QI 4 110.v.1–2

$\Delta\omicron\gamma\kappa\tilde{\eta}\mu\epsilon\ \eta\eta\ \epsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\kappa\kappa\omicron\lambda\ \tau\tilde{\chi}\lambda\iota\omicron\kappa\omega\ \tau\alpha\rho\gamma\ \epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\kappa\tilde{\chi}\kappa\alpha$
douk-imme [ēn enḡane_i ḡookko-l
 pay.homage-AFF.1SG 2SG.GEN brotherhood glorious-DET
[rel till-iloḡō tar_i-ou ei-tak]]-il-ka
 God-by 3SG-J bless-PASS-DET-ACC
 “I pay homage to your glorious brotherhood, blessed by God”

In this example, the adjective $\epsilon\omicron\omicron\kappa\kappa\omicron\lambda$ intervenes between the antecedent $\epsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\eta\epsilon$ and the RC $\tau\tilde{\chi}\lambda\iota\omicron\kappa\omega\ \tau\alpha\rho\gamma\ \epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\kappa\tilde{\chi}$, hence the appearance of the anaphor $\tau\alpha\rho\gamma$.

The strategies of exx. 31 and 32 may also appear together:

33

P. QI 2 14.i.9–11
 RTA 43

$\epsilon\Delta\Delta\rho\omega\ \kappa\alpha\delta\kappa\alpha\ \epsilon\tilde{n}\ \Delta\iota\gamma\tilde{\chi}\colon\ \epsilon\tilde{\lambda}\ \tau\Delta\Delta\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\iota\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha\ [o]\gamma\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\ \tau\Delta\Delta\Delta\omega\ \alpha\kappa\iota\mu\tilde{c}\varsigma\iota\kappa\alpha$
ed-d-rō [kaj_i-ka [rel ein [dig]]]-el
 find-FUT-PRS.2PL colt-ACC REL bound-DET
[rel eil tad_i-ou [ei-gou-la ouen-na tad_i-dō ak-imis-s]]-ika
 now 3SG-J man-PL-DAT one-GEN 3SG-upon sit-NEG-PT2-ACC
 “You will find a colt that is bound, one upon which no one among men has yet sat” (Mk. 11:2)

In this example, $\kappa\alpha\phi\kappa\alpha$ is coindexed with both $\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma$ and $\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\omega$ in the RC dependent on it, in the first case because of the intervening RC $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\ \lambda\iota\tau\tilde{\chi}$, and in the second case because $\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\omega$ is an inaccessible postpositional phrase. Note also that the accusative case ending on $\kappa\alpha\phi\kappa\alpha$ is unexpected. Owing to a lack of comparative evidence I am unable to suggest an explanation, but see the commentary to ex. 89 for further discussion.

4. Free relative clauses

Free or headless RCs have no overt antecedent, but are otherwise syntactically similar to the coreferential and non-coreferential examples discussed in §1. Whereas Satzinger does not discuss them separately, and subsumes them under his main types “A” and “B,” Browne treats them separately in *Old Nubian Grammar*, §4.7.1. Headless RCs may further be subdivided into subject clauses (§4.1); object clauses (§4.2), which include different types of complement clauses (§4.2.1–2); and free RCs in other, oblique positions (§4.3). Unlike non-coreferential attributive clauses, free RCs are never introduced by a relative pronoun.

4.1 Subject clauses

Subject clauses are RCs that in their entirety, i.e., without antecedent, form the subject of a sentence.

34

P. QI 1 2.ii.3–4
RTA 10

$\Delta\Gamma\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda\omega\ \epsilon\iota\rho\tilde{\nu}\ \epsilon\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha\ \Delta\omicron\gamma\lambda\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda$
 $agend-a-gou-l\tilde{o}\quad [\emptyset\ [\text{rel}\ e\iota\rho-in\quad \eta\gamma\omicron\gamma-la\quad dou]]-l-gou-l$
 blessed-PRED-PL-FOC 2SG-GEN house-DAT exist-DET-PL-DET
 “Blessed are those who stay in your house”

Satzinger includes this example as a “Type A” RC, interpreting $\Delta\Gamma\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda\omega$ as an antecedent, but when compared to ex. 29 it becomes clear that we are dealing here with a subject clause, that is, a free RC without antecedent. The entire RC $\epsilon\iota\rho\tilde{\nu}\ \epsilon\omicron\gamma\lambda\alpha\ \Delta\omicron\gamma-$ is the subject of the adjectival predicate $\Delta\Gamma\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\lambda\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda\omega$, which agrees in number with the subject. The same holds for the following example quoted by Satzinger as an attributive RC, which in fact appears to be a coordinated subject clause:

$\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\ \epsilon\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\varsigma}\alpha\tilde{\nu}\alpha\ \Gamma\alpha\rho\mu\iota\tau\tilde{\eta}\ \epsilon\iota\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\ \Delta\omicron\gamma\kappa\lambda\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda\ \tau\alpha\tilde{\nu}\ \tau\alpha\epsilon\tilde{\varsigma}\tilde{\nu}\ \epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\kappa}\omicron\tilde{\nu}\ \tau\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\ \kappa\omicron\phi\tilde{\nu}$
 $\tau\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\nu}\alpha\tau\tau\tilde{\alpha}\omega\ \epsilon\tau\tau\omicron\lambda\gamma\omicron\gamma\lambda$

ein eis-sana [Ø [rel] ħarmit-in eigon-ka
 DEM.PROX be-PT2.3PL.PRED beast-GEN image-ACC
 douk]]-il-gou-l

worship-DET-PL-DET

[Ø [rel] tan taḥs-in eid-k-on ten koñ-in
 3SG.GEN name-GEN sign-ACC-C 3PL.GEN face-GEN
 tinnatt-iddō ett-o]]-l-gou-l

front.NMLZ-upon receive-PT1-DET-PL-DET

“Those have been the ones who worship the image of the beast, who received the sign of his name upon their forehead.” (Rev. 14:9)

35

P. QI 19.i.16–20
 RTA 11
 ONG §4.6a

29

Just like the previous example, the interpretation here is straightforward. The subjects of ⲉⲥⲥⲁⲛⲁ are two subject clauses coordinated by the suffix -on in the noun phrase τⲁⲛ τⲁⲥⲥⲏ ⲉⲁⲕⲟⲛ. Both subject clauses are fully marked with a plural suffix and the double determiner construction we have seen previously.

A final example is slightly puzzling, in the sense that we are not strictly dealing with a subject sentence, but rather with a sentence that as a whole seems to have been nominalized:

ⲉⲛⲛⲏⲕⲁ ⲟⲩ[Δ]ⲓⲗⲗⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲔⲉⲣⲗ

[Ø [rel] einnin-ka oud-gille pes-ij-eri]]-l

DEM.PROX.PL-ACC 2PL-DIR say-PLACT-PRS.1SG-DET

“(The fact that) I say these things to you” (Jn. 16:33)

36

L. 106.4–5
 ONG §4.5.1b

To take ⲉⲛⲛⲏⲕⲁ here as the antecedent of the RC ⲟⲩ[Δ]ⲓⲗⲗⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲔⲉⲣⲗ makes no sense, as it would not be marked with the accusative case (but cf. ⲕⲁⲔⲕⲁ in ex. 33); it can be nothing but the direct object of ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲔⲉⲣⲗ. However, this leaves the occurrence of the determiner -l unexplained. Perhaps the scribe was attempting to render the perfect tense found in the Greek (ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν) by nominalizing the entire sentence. Again, lack of comparative evidence prevents further speculation.

4.2 Object clauses

Object clauses follow the same pattern as subject clauses, but are obviously marked by the accusative case -ka, sometimes preceded by the determiner -λ. As yet it remains unclear in which contexts the determiner may precede the accusative suffix.

- 37 τῶν τὰ ἐκείνου ἀγοῶν καὶ κοῦρρανλο ἀγοῶν ἄνω
 K. 22.10-13 [Ø [_{rel} *till-in* *taŋs-il-do* *auou-j-ou*]]-ka
 ONG §4.6a God-GEN name-DET-in do-PLACT-PRS.2PL-ACC
 kourran-lo *auou-j-anasō*
 joyful-LOC do-PLACT-IMP.3PL

30

“Do the things you do in God’s name joyfully”

The free RC τῶν τὰ ἐκείνου ἀγοῶν καὶ is here the object of ἀγοῶν ἄνω. Note that the implicit antecedent of the RC is plural, as signified by the pluractional marker -σ on both the embedded verb ἀγοῶν καὶ and the main verb ἀγοῶν ἄνω.

- 38 εἰρὶ οὖν εἰρήνῃ ἀλλήλικα οἷκα εἰρῆναι ἄνω
 SE A.i.11-13 *eīhi* [Ø [_{rel} *ou-n* *eīar-i* *doll-is*]]-il-ka *ouk-ka*
 RTA 2 lo 2SG-GEN know-PRED? want-PT2-DET-ACC 2SG-ACC
 eair-il-gas-se-sin
 know-DET-CAUS-PT2.1SG.PRED-EMP

“Lo, I have informed you about what you wanted to know.”

Observe that in ex. 38 we find two instances of a determiner that are relatively rare, the first preceding the accusative case in ἀλλήλικα (cf. ex. 25, 31 ὅσοι[κα] and ex. 32 εἰτακῆκα) and the second directly following the verbal root in εἰρῆναι ἄνω (cf. ex. 8 κοινολογῶν). As for the curious form εἰρήνῃ, with either a phonologically reduced predicative suffix or a juncture vowel, cf. ex. 21 εἰρήνῃ.

- 39 παππᾶδᾶ γὰρ ἀλλήλικα εἰρῆναι ἄνω
 P. QI 4 124.r.2-3 [Ø [_{rel} *pappajja ŋal-da* *eid-is*]]-ka *eit-ere-sin*
 Pappajja son-COM send-PT2-ACC take-PRS.1SG.PRED-EMP
 dippi-la
 village-DAT

“I take what was sent with the son (of) Pappajja to the village”

Ruffini’s translation is different here, analyzing εἰτακῆκα as a serial verb consisting of εἰτ- “to take” and ῆ- “to take, bring” with the accusative case, rendering it with “receipt.” However, it seems to me that an analysis as a free RC, just like ex. 38, is more likely. I also take εἰτα- to be a rare instance of the verb εἰτα- “to send?,” but obviously “to take” remains a valid option as well.

4.2.1 Complement clauses with verbs of reporting and desiring

Object clauses are a subcategory of complement clauses which may appear with verbs of reporting and desiring such as “believe,” “say,” “wish,” “think,” “write,” and so on. Grammatically speaking, Old

Nubian complement clauses do not differ from regular object clauses, or non-coreferential RCS in general. The subject of the complement clause, if overtly expressed, will appear in the genitive case, and the entire clause will be marked by the accusative case. As with regular non-coreferential attributive RCS, there is a complementary distribution between overt subject and the presence of agreement morphology.

31

π]στει[ει]cαnα εñ αϊκ ειτρεcka
pisteu-eis-ana [_{comp} *ein* *ai-k* *eitr-es*]-ka
 believe-PT2-3PL 2SG.GEN 1SG-ACC send.TR-PT2-ACC
 “They believed that you sent me”

40

L. 107.11-12
ONG §4.7.1.2a

Here we find a complement clause dependent on the verb π]στει[ει]cαnα, with a genitive subject and an embedded verb solely marked for tense. There is no overt agreement marking because the subject is explicit. The object clause εñ αϊκ ειτρεcka is marked with the accusative case as an object of the main verb π]στει[ει]cαnα. Cf. also L. 107.4-5 κοσμοcιλ α[κκον]νοα ειn αϊκ ειτρεcka (*sic*) “So that the world knows that you sent me.”

Δολλῑμο ογκα ειδρῑγδαδῑcαenκα
doll-immo [_{comp} *ou-ka*
 wish-AFF.1/2PL 1PL.EXCL-ACC
ear-il-gad-j-ad-en]-ka
 know-DET-CAUS-PLACT-FUT-PRS.2/3SG-ACC
 “We wish that you will inform (lit. cause to know) us”

41

St. 6.12-7.2
ONG §4.7.1.2b

In this example we find explicit person marking on the embedded verb owing to the absence of explicit subject. The object clause ογκα ειδρῑγδαδῑcαenκα is marked with the accusative case as the object of the main verb Δολλῑμο.

If there is an explicit subject in the complement clause, it is marked by the accusative case.

(42) P. QI 4 91.1.6-7
 αιον' εκκα ταριοκον cипитор аннеика трменка е_Δο ογннпpаmα
ai-on [_{comp} *eik-ka* *tar-io-kon* *sipitor* *ann-eika*
 1SG-C 2SG-ACC 3SG-LOC-C foundation 1SG.GEN-ACC
tir-men]-ka *eid-do* *ounn-ir-a-ma*
 give.2/3-NEG-ACC 2SG-from love-PRS-PRED-COP
 “And I want from you to not give from it to you and to my foundation.”

42

P. QI 4 91.1.6-7

The subject of the complement clause $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha$ is here marked by the accusative.⁴³ Ruffini translates slightly differently here, choosing to render $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\omicron$ as “for you.” This example shows several curious features, such as the absence of tense and agreement morphology in the verb of the complement clause $\tau\tilde{\rho}\mu\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha$.⁴⁴ Observe also the so-called copulative suffix $-\mu\alpha$ on the main verb,⁴⁵ with the element $-\mu$ that otherwise appears in emphatic environments such as the affirmative and vetitive. Finally, note the inverse order of possessed and possessor in $\sigma\iota\mu\iota\tau\omicron\rho \lambda\alpha\mu\eta\iota\kappa\alpha$, with the genitive $\lambda\alpha\mu\eta$ - following $\sigma\iota\mu\iota\tau\omicron\rho$.

- 43
SC 22.5-7
 $\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\iota} \kappa\alpha\gamma \epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha \cdot \epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha \pi[\epsilon]\zeta\alpha \tau\tilde{\rho}\rho\alpha$
 $\eta\alpha i\text{-}sin \text{ } [_{comp} \text{ } \textit{kau} \text{ } \textit{eik}]\text{-}ka \text{ } \textit{eik}\text{-}ka \text{ } \textit{pes}\text{-}a \text{ } \textit{tir}\text{-}r\text{-}a$
who-EMP naked be-ACC 2SG-ACC say-PRED give.2/3-PRS-PRED
“Who told you that you were naked?” (Gen. 3:11)

In ex. 43 we find a double object construction, with indirect object $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha$ and complement clause $\kappa\alpha\gamma \epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha$. The double object construction is supported by the applicative verb $\tau\tilde{\rho}$ -, usually translated with “to give.”

For comparison, observe the following two examples from Nobiin, respectively with an intransitive and transitive verb in the complement clause, which feature a similar construction with genitive-marked subject and accusative marker on the complement clause:

- 44
CF 365
Nobiin
 $[_{comp} \text{ } \textit{tar}\text{-}iin \text{ } \textit{kir}\text{-}ee] \text{ } \textit{ka} \text{ } \textit{dolli}\text{-}ri$
3SG-GEN come-COMP1 ACC wish/love-PRS.1SG
“I wish him to come”
- 45
CF 378
Nobiin
 $[_{comp} \text{ } \textit{tar}\text{-}iin \text{ } \textit{kaba}\text{-}ka \text{ } \textit{kab}\text{-}ee] \text{ } \textit{ka} \text{ } \textit{firgi}\text{-}ri$
3SG-GEN food-ACC eat-COMP1 ACC want-PRS.1SG
“I want him to eat the food”

4.2.2 Complement clauses with verbs of ability

Other types of complement clauses have been attested in combination with variants of the verb $\epsilon\iota\pi$ - “to be able,” which, just as the verbs of reporting in §2.2.1, takes a complement clause marked by the accusative case. The two following examples show such a complement clause construction embedded under $\epsilon\iota\pi$ -.

43 See also P. QI 1 4.3-4 *elon eimme tillika [...] tiddekka*.

44 The morphology of negative contexts is still not completely understood for Old Nubian. But cf. Nobiin example *tar fentiga kab-i* “He eats the date,” with tense/agreement suffix, and *tar fentiga kam-muun* with a negative portmanteau suffix (AWAD, *The Characteristic Features of Non-Kernel Sentences in Nobiin*, §3.1.1.1, table 31). Perhaps the same is the case with $\tau\tilde{\rho}\mu\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha$.

45 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.10.

čKEΛITΓΛΔEKEΛKA \\ ΔIAPID TAK[K]A AYOΓΛÖCĪ EIPXΓILLE
 iskel-itt-il-dekel-ka [Ø [rel [comp diar-iō tak-ka
 pray-NMLZ-DET-C-ACC death-LOC 3SG-ACC
 auoul-os]-ik eir]]-il-gille
 save-COMPL-ACC be.able-DET-DIR
 “...and prayer (ACC) to whom is able to save him (away/completely)
 from death.”

46

L. 105.12-13
RTA 14

33

The complement clause ΔIAPID TAK[K]A AYOΓΛÖCĪ is the object of the verb EIP- and therefore marked with the accusative -Ī. The entire free RC ΔIAPID TAK[K]A AYOΓΛÖCĪ EIPXΓILLE is then marked with a determiner and directive suffix: “to whom is able to save him (away) from death.” According to Bechhaus-Gerst, the suffix -ōc in AYOΓΛÖC should be interpreted as a “movement away from a [...] deictic center,”⁴⁶ which can also carry the meaning of fully completing a certain action, in casu the saving.

ṖMENTA' EṆ ΔΟΥΓṆ MAΦAN TPİKA' PĪKKİGAROL EṆKETAL ΔIMİNNAGAPİKA/
 ir-men-ta [Ø [rel ein douṅ-in mañan tri-ka
 be.able-NEG-NEG DEM.PROX blind-GEN eye.PL-ACC
 pikk-igar-o]]-l [comp ein-ketal di-minn-a-gar]-ika
 awaken-CAUS-PT1.DET DEM.PROX-also die-NEG-PRED-CAUS-ACC
 “Is the one who opened the eyes of this blind man not also able to
 raise this one from the dead?” (Jn 11:37)

47

P. QI 14.ii.13-15
RTA 3

The main verb ṖMENTA here shows the compounding of the two negative suffixes -MEN and -TA, which is only attested with the verb Ṗ- “to be able” and ΔI- “to die.”⁴⁷ Again note the absence of person morphology in the negative verb, as observed in ex. 42 TPṢENKA. Assuming, with Browne, that we are dealing here with the introduction to a question “Is (he) not able to...?”, the clause EṆKETAL ΔIMİNNAGAPİKA is a complement to ṖMENTA, marked by the accusative case -KA. The subject of ṖMENTA is formed by the subject clause EṆ ΔΟΥΓṆ [...] PĪKKİGAROL “the one who opened the eyes of this blind man.” EṆ should not be interpreted as a relative pronoun, as these never appear in free RCS.

Again we find a similar construction in Nobiin:

[comp ay sirig-ka kay-inan]-ga esk-ir-i
 1SG boat-ACC make-INF-ACC be.able-PRS-1SG
 “I am able to make a boat”

48

CF 353
Nobiin

46 BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, 156. The directionality of the perfective suffix is contested by JAKOBI & EL-GUZUULI, “Semantic Change and Heterosemy of Dongolawi ed,” pp. 128-9.

47 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.9.20. See also BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, p. 163, and SMAGINA, “Einige Probleme der Morphologie des Altnubischen,” p. 395.

4.3 Other free relative clauses

Except for subject and object positions, free RCS may also appear in other positions in the sentence.

- 34 49 ογελ τῖλ ἀλλιουγῖακα ψαλλῖγογλαδᾱλ ψαλῖμενεν τῖλογ τακκα ἀγολκα
 K. 29.8–11 δειραλο·
 HN, p. 208 ouel tir-l [Ø [rel allilouia-ka psall]]-il-gou-l-dal
 anyone-DET Alleluia-ACC sing.psalms-DET-PL-DET-COM
 psal-ēmen-en
 sing.psalms-NEG-PRS.2/3SG
 [till-ou [rel tak-ka au-o]]-l-ka aeir-a-lo
 God-J 3SG-ACC make-PT1-DET-ACC insult-PRED-FOC
 “If anyone does not sing with those who sing Alleluia, he insults the
 God who made him”

The free RC here is ἀλλιουγῖακα ψαλλῖγογλαδᾱλ⁴⁸ “with those who sing Alleluia,” with the antecedent “those” implied.

- 50 ΓΕΝΚ̄ΤΚΑ· ΟΝΚΕΛ· ΑΠΠΑ· ΤῖΛῖ· ΟΥΝΤῖΔᾱλ· ΠΕΛῖ· ΟΥῖΡΑϸῖ· ΕῖΝΑϸῖ·
 P. QI 2 18.iv.2–6 [Ø [rel genkit-ka on-ke]]-l appa
 RTA 26 goodness.NMLZ-ACC love-CONSUE-DET for
 [Ø [rel till-in ount-il-dal pel]]-in ouer-a-sin
 God-GEN love-DET-COM be-GEN one-PRED-EMP
 enn-a-sin
 be-PRED-EMP
 “For who loves goodness is one of those who are with the love of
 God”

This example contains two free RCS, the first ΓΕΝΚ̄ΤΚΑ· ΟΝΚΕΛ as subject of the sentence and the second ΤῖΛῖ· ΟΥΝΤῖΔᾱλ· ΠΕΛῖ as a genitive belonging to ΟΥῖΡΑϸῖ. Satzinger suggests an “unexpected” interpretation of the suffix -ῖ in ΠΕΛῖ as third person singular morpheme, whereas the fact that the RC precedes its antecedent and the presence of the verb ΠΕΛ-, which besides “to be” can also mean “to come out,” suggest here a genitive case.

We are now able to analyze a complicated sentence such as the complete verse of *Heb.* 6:7, which contains a number of embedded RCS:

- 51 ἔΚΤΟΥ ΓΕΔΙΑΝΝΟ ᾱ[ΡΟΥ ΤΑ]ΔᾱΩ ΘΩΝΑ ΣΟΥΚΚΟΛΚΑ ΣΙΡΙΠΑ ΕΤΑ ΤΟ[ΡΑ(?)]
 P. QI 1 1.7.1.12–15 ΔΕϸ ΔΕϸϸΟΥ ΕΤΑΚΚΟΥΛΚΑ· ΕῖΝ ΤΑΚ<Κ>Α ΤΟΡ[ΠΑ]ΚΚῖΓΟΥΚΑ ΠΕΕΙᾱ Θᾱ
 RTA 40 ᾱΘῖῖΔΕ ΤῖΛῖΛΟῖ[Α] ΤΑΟΥῖΚΑ ἔΤΑΡΑΓΟΥῖΕΛΟ·

48 Browne writes ψαλλῖ γογλαδᾱλ.

[iskt-ou [rel [app nedian-no [arou [rel tad-dō jōn-a
earth-J often-LOC rain 3SG-upon strike-PRED
soukk-o]]-l-ka sirip-a et-a tor-a]
descend-PT1-DET-ACC drink-PRED take-PRED enter-PRED
[des dess-ou [rel el-takk-ou]]-l-ka
crop green-J obtain-PASS-PT1-DET-ACC
[0 [rel ein [tak-ka torpak-k]]]-il-gou-ka
REL 3SG-ACC harvest-CONSUE-DET-PL-ACC
peei-a os-a tij-j]]-il-de
produce-PRED come.out-PRED give.2/3-PLACT-DET-C
till-illo-jōa taoue-ka et-ara-goue-lo
God-LOC-through blessing-ACC receive-PT1.PRED-PL.PRED-FOC
“*And the earth which, drinking up the rain that often strikes upon
it, produces obtained green crops for those who harvest it, received
blessing(s?) from God*” (*Heb. 6:7*)

The subject of the verb at the end of the sentence, ἔταρα- is the entire clause ἔκτογ [...] πεειᾶ ὅσα τῶδῖλλε “and the earth which produces....” The RC ending in the verbal complex πεειᾶ ὅσα τῶδῖλλε- has as its object ΔΕC ΔΕCCOY ΕΛΤΑΚΚΟΥΛΑ “obtained green crops,” with a slightly curious verb ΕΛΤΑΚΚΟΥΛ-. I have opted here to interpret the morpheme -ΟΥ as a variant of the preterite 1 morpheme, both because it is a coreferential attributive RC (cf. §7 below) and an interpretation as an agreement suffix would make no sense. The indirect object, supported by the applicative verb τῶ-, is the free RC Εἰ τὰκ<κ>α τοῖ[πα]κκλῖτογκα “for those who harvest it.” All of this is preceded by a lengthy apposition ΕΔΙΑΝΝΟ [...] ΣΙΡΙΠΑ ΕΤΑ ΤΟ[ΡΑ(?)] “drinking up the rain that often strikes upon it,” which in turn contains a coreferential attributive RC with antecedent ἄ[ρογ. Note that both COYKKOLKA and ΕΛΤΑΚΚΟΥΛΑ retain the determiner before the accusative case.

5 Relative clauses and predicative -α

As Satzinger points out, in case the antecedent of an RC is marked with the predicative, both the RC and its antecedent will feature the predicative suffix. The predicative -α therefore behaves differently from genuine case markings such as the accusative -κα and genitive -να, which only appear at the right edge of the noun phrase. The precise syntactical structure underlying the assignment of the predicative case, however, still lacks clarification. What follows will therefore be a description of the different types of RCs that we have

5.1 Nominal predicates

The predicative suffix -a first of all indicates the main verbal or nominal predicate of a sentence. In case the nominal predicate is accompanied by a RC, it is also marked with the predicative.

The subject of the nominal predicate $\epsilon\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ is a subject clause $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$ $\omicron\gamma\omicron\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron$ $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha$ $\kappa\iota\lambda\lambda\omicron\eta\eta$, and it is accompanied by the attributive RC $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma[\iota\omicron\gamma\tilde{\iota}]$ $\eta\alpha$ $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma\alpha\delta\omicron$ $\omicron\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\eta\tilde{\iota}$. As we expect, both the nominal predicate and the RC are marked by the predicative suffix.

5.2 Complex verbal predicates

What Browne calls “periphrastic” constructions are in fact not essentially different from the complement clauses we have discussed above in §4.2.1–2, namely a full sentence embedded under a verb. In most instances of such constructions,⁵⁰ the main verb is a copula without any overt tense marking, whereas the RC is marked with the predicative, like a regular nominal or verbal predicate. The embedded verb can either appear with or without agreement morphology. I will just give a number of representative examples.

49 I follow here the observations made in “A Note on the Old Nubian Morpheme -a in Nominal and Verbal Predicates.”

50 I include here only what Browne refers to as “predicative” and “indicative” periphrastic constructions (Browne, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §§3.9.14–15).

τῆκῆνον ἡὸρκλο παῶανασῶ· ἡὸρκλ Δεiarκα ΓεΓρα ἐnenneῶον
tikkin-non imjirk-lo paj-anasō
 nevertheless-c disobedience-LOC cease-IMP.3PL
imjirk-il [[deiar-ka neg-r]-a
 disobedience-DET death-ACC produce-PRS-PRED
en-en]-nejoun
 be-PRS.2/3SG-because
 “But nevertheless cease disobedience, because disobedience pro-
 duces death”

54

K. 24.4-7
ONG §3.9.14

37

ἀρμῆτακκαειον ἐῆλῆν εἰγῶδε τῖαφῶδεκελλο·
 [[*armis-tak-k]-a-eion ein-d-n]-a*
 judge-PASS-PRS-PRED-C be-FUT-PRS.2/3SG-PRED
eig-il-de tiaf-il-dekel-lo
 fire-DET-C sulphur-DET-C-LOC
 “And he will be judged in fire and sulphur” (Rev. 14:10)

55

P. QI 19.i.22-ii.2
ONG §3.9.14

In this example, the copula ἐῆλῆν contains the modal suffix -ῶ, giving the entire verbal complex a future sense. Note also the progressive assimilation of the present (or neutral) tense marker -p after -tak in ἀρμῆτακκαειον.

As we have observed above, agreement morphology appears in the embedded verb at the moment the subject of the embedded verb is not coreferential with the subject of the copula:

ἀλεεῖ οὔνηρε ἐnennon· χριςτιῶνοσαῶαῖῆνε·
ale-sin [[ounn-r-e] en-en]-non
 truly-EMP bear-PRS-1SG.PRED be-PRS.2/3SG-C
khristianos-ay-ad-imme
 Christian-INCH-FUT-AFF.1SG.PRED
 “If I give birth, I will become a Christian”

56

M. 6.8-10
ONG §3.9.15

ὁὐρικα ἡινῶι ἡῆλῶλο πεσῖνῶ Δοῦμμενεεῖ
 [-*jouri-ka mindi mindi-lo pes-in]-a*
 -about-ACC individually-LOC say-PRS.2/3SG-PRED
doum-men-ess-in
 exist-NEG-PT2-2/3SG
 “... about ... it is impossible to speak individually” (Heb. 9:5)

57

L. 112.1-2
ONG §4.6c

Browne analyzes the verb here as *doum-men-es-sin*, with the emphatic marker -εῖ. However, the positioning of a verb marked with this suffix at the end of sentence is unexpected, and with the beginning of the sentence missing no definitive grammatical analysis can be given.

Complex verbal predicates can of course in turn be embedded, such as in the following example:

58 ΔΟΓΛΡΙΓΟΥΛ ΜΑΘΑΛΟСКΛΩ ΤΑΡΑ [\\] ΙΕΡΟΥСАΛΗΙΩ ΚΙCΑΝΑ ΠΕCΡΔΓΟΥ[Ε]
 L. 113.3-5
 38 ONG §3.9.14 *dogd-ri-gou-l* *mašalosk-lo tar-a* *ierousalm-io*
 magus-PL-PL-DET east-LOC come-PRED Jerusalem-LOC
ki-s-an-a [_{rel} [*pes-r*]-a-goue ein]-il
 come-PT2-3PL-PRED say-PRS-PRED-PL-PRED be-DET
 “The magi, coming from the east, arrived in Jerusalem, and said: ...”

The RC $\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\gamma[\epsilon]\ \epsilon\iota\eta\iota\lambda$ is attributive to $\Delta\omicron\gamma\Delta\pi\iota\omicron\gamma\lambda$ in spite of its distance. And although it is nominalized with the determiner $-\iota\lambda$, the internal structure of the clause remains the same: the copula $\epsilon\iota\eta$ preceded by an RC marked by the predicative suffix, as well as number agreement with its antecedent.

5.3 Vocative or appellative contexts

The predicative $-\lambda$ appears also in vocative or appellative environments, where someone is called or called upon.

59 ONTAKPAOYĒKE
M. 1.5; St. 2.9 [Ø _[rel] on-tak-r]-a-goue-ke
et passim love-PASS-PRS-PRED-PL.PRED-2PL
RTA 23 “You, beloved”

60
St. 29.10-12
RTA 24

ΤΑΝΝΑΣΩ ΔΠΟΝΑ ΤΑΡΟΥΑΑΓΟΥΕΚΕ
tan-nasō [_{rel} *apo-na*
come-IMP.2PL 1SG.POSS.father-GEN
tarou-as-s]-*a-goue-ke*
bless-TR-PT2-PRED-PL.PRED-2PL
“Come, you, whom my father blessed”

Both examples contain a free RC which is marked by a predicative *-a*, with plural predicative suffix *-royē*, and in both cases a special vocative suffix that refers to the second person plural “you,” *-κε*. Otherwise the RC seems to behave grammatically like the ones discussed above, such as marking the subject with a genitive case.

Other examples are grammatically a bit more complex:

ΕΟΚΚΟΡΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟCῒ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟCΟΥ ΕCῒCΟΥ ΜΗΝΑΝΑ ΔΥCΑΛΩ
 [ηokkor-a [_{rel} khristos-in marturos-ou ηiss-ou
 miracle-PRED Christ-GEN martyr-J holy-J
 mēna-na au-s]-a-lō
 Mina-GEN do-PT2-PRED-FOC
 “(It is) a miracle performed by Mina, the holy martyr of Christ”

61

M. 1.1-3
 ONG §4.6a
 RTA 21

39

We are dealing here with regular non-coreferential attributive RC in which both the antecedent ΕΟΚΚΟΡΑ and RC ΧΡΙCΤΟCῒ [...] ΔΥCΑ- are marked with the predicative -α. The RC shows no agreement marking, as the subject is overtly expressed, with a genitive suffix. The example in question is the first sentence of the text known as the Miracle of St Mina (or Menas) and as such functions as a type of announcement or caption for the entire story.

This vocative-like usage of the predicative suffix also appears in other contexts, for example in one of Griffith’s graffiti. I give here an extensive fragment:

ΠΕΤΡΟCῒ ΕΑΡΗΙ ΖῒΤῒ ΤΕΡΕΓΟΥΚΑ ΚΟΦΘΡΑ· ΔΙ ΕΙ·Δ’ ΠΕCῒ ΕΑΠΕΓΟΥΚΑ
 ΤΟΚΑΡΑ· ΔΙΝΕCΩ· ΔΗΝΑ ΔΦΕΝ ΟΥΚΟΥΡΡΩ· ΔΙΚΑ ΜΑΤΤΑΚΑ ΚΙΠΡΑ ΓῒΤΑΜΙCΩ·
 petros-i [_{rel} harm-i kolotit-in tere-gou-ka koñ-j-r]-a
 Peter-J heaven-J seventh-GEN key-PL-ACC have-PLACT-PRS-PRED
 [_{rel} [_{rel} ai ei-a pes-s]-i ηape]-gou-ka tok-ar]-a
 1SG say-PRED say-PT2-J sins-PL-ACC forgive-PT1-PRED
 din-esō an-na añ-en oukour-rō
 give.1-IMP.2SG 1SG-GEN life-GEN day-LOC
 ai-ka matta-ka kipr-a git-tamisō
 1SG-ACC affliction-ACC eat.TR-PRED CAUS-VET.2SG

62

gr. 4.1-3
 RTA 38
 = ex. 20

“Peter, who has the keys of the seventh heaven, who has forgiven the sins that I have spoken, give, do not cause my affliction to consume me in the days of my life”⁵¹

Peter, the one who is called upon here by the author of the graffito, is qualified by two coreferential attributive RCs, both ending in the predicative suffix -α. The first coreferential attributive RC shows the pattern we have seen before, whereas the second one contains an additional non-coreferential attributive RC ΔΙ ΕΙ·Δ’ ΠΕCῒ, with the antecedent ΕΑΠΕΓΟΥΚΑ (see ex. 20 for discussion). This lengthy appellation to Peter is then followed by an imperative ΔΙΝΕCΩ and a vetitive ΚΙΠΡΑ ΓῒΤΑΜΙCΩ.

51 BROWNE, “Griffith’s Old Nubian Graffito 4,” p. 19, translates “O Peter, you who have the keys of the 7 heavens, forgive me for the sins that I uttered. Cause me not to eat tribulation in the time of my life,” interpreting ΤΟΚΑΡΑ as an imperative and ΔΙΚΑ as the object of ΓῒΤΑΜΙCΩ instead of ΚΙΠΡΑ.

5.4 *Adjunctive/appositional clauses*

Satzinger gives a few other examples in which the predicative -a appears. These, however, are not proper RCS, i.e. with a fully developed clausal structure including tense and subject and/or agreement morphology, but rather embedded verb phrases without any higher projection, without possible subject, and without ever featuring a relative pronoun. Needless to say, all of them are coreferential.

40

63

St. 175-8
RTA 19

παπα Γαλλα ΔΟΥΛΛΑ· Γα παπλᾶ ΔΟΥΛΛΑ·

pap-a [_{app} *ɲal-la* *doull*]-a *ɲa* [_{app} *pap-la* *doull*]-a
father-PRED son-DAT exist-PRED son.PRED father-DAT exist-PRED
“Father being in the son, son being in the father”

64

P. QI 1 10.C.ii.7
RTA 20

ΟΥΡΟΥᾶ ΤῬΚΑ ΟΥΝΝΑ

ourou-a [_{app} *til-ka* *ounn*]-a
king-PRED God-ACC love-PRED
“God-loving king”

65

P. QI 2 16.vi.11-vii.2
RTA 22

ἔ κῆττα χριστοσικα οὔνναγοὔκεε

e [_{app} *kīpt-a* [*khristos-ka* *ounn*]]-a-goue-ke
oh people-PRED Christ-ACC love-PRED-PL.PRED-2PL
“O Christ-loving people”

5.5 *Topicalization of the antecedent*

There are a few recorded cases of RCS with an antecedent marked by the predicative suffix that seems to have moved to a more leftward position. In all of these cases we are dealing with a topicalized antecedent, as signaled by the appearance of the “emphatic” suffix -cñ⁵² and the predicative suffix. However, as predicative morphology is not always present in the RC itself (as in exx. 52–62), it may be the case that this assignment only takes place after movement of the antecedent. In all examples below, the movement is not visible on the surface. The intuition that leftward movement is involved derives from 1) the fact that -cñ does not always appear in these contexts and that its presence must be linked to a specific syntactic position in the sentence, and 2) the abundant presence of -cñ in contexts of quantifier raising, which in other languages explicitly features leftward movement (see §5.6). This type of cñ-topicalization is allowed from both coreferential and non-coreferential attributive clauses.

52 There is no room here for a full discussion of the -cñ morpheme, which has been analyzed by SATZINGER, “Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen,” pp. 195ff; BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.10; BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary: Appendices*, pp. 28–37, esp. p. 31 “Predicative + -cñ as Antecedent”; and Bechhaus-Gerst, *The (Hi)story of Nobin*, pp. 103–4.

СТАΥΤΟСЃ ἈΔΨΙΚΕΡΑΛΟ· ΤῪΛΑСЃ ἡΑΔΛΟ ΤΑΔΔΩ ΟΛΛΟΛΛΟΘΩΔ·

stauros-il adñike-r-a-lo

till-a-sin_i

CROSS-DET life.giving-PRS-PRED-FOC God-PRED-EMP

[_{t_i} [_{rel} *gad-lo tad-dō oll-o*]-*l-lojō-a*

flesh-LOC 3SG-upon hang-PT1-DET-because-PRED

“The cross is life-giving, because of God who hung upon it in the flesh”

66

St. 277-10
ONG §4.6a
RTA 49

41

In this example, ΤῪΛΑСЃ has apparently moved to the left, and has been marked by the emphatic suffix -сЃ. Note that the RC ἡΑΔΛΟ ΤΑΔΔΩ ΟΛΛΟΛΛΟΘΩΔ is marked with the predicative -Δ.

ΕΟΔΔ ΤῪΛΑ ΟΥΝΑ· ΟΥΝ ΔΕΧΓΟΥΝΔΕΙΟΝ Ε̐СОГΓΙΔΕΡΑ· ΑἲΔΓΟΥΕ̐СЃ ἘΑΠΕΛΟ

ΤΟΥΚΗΑ ΚΟΡΚΑ Ε̐ΤΟΛΓΟΥΝΔΕΙΟΝ ἱΑΤΟΡΟСЃ·

ηοd-a till-a ou-na

Lord-PRED God-PRED 1PL.EXCL-GEN

ou-n aeil-gou-na-eion esoggi-der-a

1PL.EXCL-GEN heart-PL-GEN-C release-NMLZ-PRED

ai-a-goue-sin_i ηape-lo toukm-a

heart-PRED-PL.PRED-EMP sin-LOC stink-PRED

[_{t_i} [_{rel} *kor-ka et-o*]-*l-gou-na-eion iatoros-a*

wound-ACC receive-PT1-DET-PL-GEN-C doctor-PRED

“God, our Lord, and deliverance of our hearts, and doctor of wound-ed hearts, stinking in sin”

67

St. 47-5.1
RTA 50

This series of appeals to God contains one RC ΚΟΡΚΑ Ε̐ΤΟΛΓΟΥΝΔΕΙΟΝ, with the antecedent ΑἲΔΓΟΥΕ̐СЃ, which clearly has moved out of genitive construction into a higher position in the phrase, where it has been marked with the emphatic marker -сЃ, and the predicative marker -Δ. More clear than ex. 66, this example is perhaps evidence of сЃ-topicalization as both the predicative -Δ and -сЃ are assigned in the target position, whereas the RC is not marked by the predicative, but rather with the genitive, as attributive to ἱΑΤΟΡΟСЃ.

ΧΡΙΣΤΙΔ̐ΝΟCΙΓΟΥΝ ΕΙΛΗΥΓΟΥΛ ΠΕCΡΑΝ ΟΥΛΓΡΑ· ΤΩ̐ΚΑΓΟΥΕ̐СЃ Ε̐CCOY

ΜΗΝΑΝΑ ΜΑΡΕΩΤ̐Τ̐Ν Κ̐CΕΛΑ ΑΥ̐ΘΓΟΥΚΑ·

kristianos-igou-n eilēu-gou-l pes-ran oulgr-a

Christian-PL-GEN woman.PL-PL-DET talk-PRS.3PL hear-PRED

*tōek-a-goue-sin_i [_{t_i} [_{rel} *ηiss-ou mēna-na**

miracle-PRED-PL.PRED-EMP holy-J Mina-GEN

mareōt-in kisse-la au-j]]-il-gou-ka

Mareotis-GEN church-DAT do-PLACT-DET-PL-ACC

“Hearing the women of the Christians talk about the miracles that Saint Mina performed in the church of Mareotis”

68

M. 2.14-17
RTA 51

This is another example in which the antecedent τῷ ἐκατοῦσι has moved leftward and become marked with the predicative and emphatic markers. Again the RC is not marked with the predicative -α, but with the accusative.

42 69
P. QI 1 10.A.i.12-15
RTA 66

ειγαριγραῖλο ουελενδε Δ̣ρ̣οικα ειριμενταλο· ε̣ς̣εγογέ̣ς̣ν̣ αγγελος̣ν̣δ̣
α̣γ̣λ̣ο̣ς̣ι̣δ̣ι̣ς̣ιν̣να Δ̣ρ̣τ̣ικα·
eigarigra-lo ouel-ende [_{comp} *dir-j*]-ika *eir-imen-ta-lo*
thus-FOC one-NEG count-PLACT-ACC be.able-NEG-NEG-FOC
η̣ισ̣σε̣-γου̣ε̣-σ̣ιν̣_i [t_i [_{rel} *aggelos-na*
holy.PRED-PL.PRED-EMP angel-GEN
aul-os-ij-is-in]]-na *dirti-ka*
save-COMPL-PLACT-PT2-2/3SG?-GEN number-ACC
“So no one is able to count the number of holy ones whom the angel
saved”

This final example first shows a complement clause $\Delta\rho\acute{o}\iota\kappa\alpha$ dependent on the verb of ability $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron$ (see §4.2.2), followed by the antecedent $\tau\acute{o}\varsigma\epsilon\theta\epsilon\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\eta$ of the RC $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\eta\alpha\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma\iota\delta\iota\varsigma\iota\eta\eta\alpha$. As in ex. 67, the antecedent has moved out of a possessor phrase, here dependent on the object of $\Delta\rho\acute{o}\iota\kappa\alpha$, $\Delta\tilde{\rho}\tau\iota\kappa\alpha$. Note that the analysis of $-\iota\eta$ in $\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma\iota\delta\iota\varsigma\iota\eta\eta\alpha$ is uncertain. Because the subject of the RC $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\eta\alpha$ is explicit, we normally do not expect to find agreement morphology. The only other option is that we are dealing here with an assimilated form of the determiner $-\iota\lambda$, which, however, never seems to appear before the genitive case.

5.6 Relative clauses within the scope of quantifiers

A special instance of attributive RCS marked with the predicative suffix are those whose antecedents are the quantifiers $\mu\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\alpha\bar{\nu}$ “all” and $\sigma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\ \bar{\tau}\rho$ “any” which mark constituents within their scope with the predicative $-\lambda$. Apart from featuring this additional marker, the RCS have also moved into the scope of the quantifier and are therefore structurally similar to coreferential RCS with a restricted reading as discussed in §3.1.1.⁵³

70 TAN FOΓΛA ΔΟῩRA M̄F̄OYANFOYKETALLEEION MEIPAFOYĒLW EICCANA
M. 2.5-7 [[_{rel} tan ηog-la dou-ar]-a miššan]-gou-ketalle-eion
RTA 16 3SG.GEN house-DAT live-PT1-PRED all-PL-also-C
meir-a-goue-lō eis-s-ana
be.barren.PRS-PRED-PL.PRED-FOC be-PT2-3PL.PRED
‘‘And also all who lived in her house were barren’’

53 Leftward movement of the RC has not been indicated in the examples below.

This example features a coreferential attributive RC embedded under the antecedent $\text{m}\bar{\text{w}}\text{y}\Delta\text{N}$ - and therefore marked with the predicative. Although Satzinger follows Browne in claiming that because of this predicative marker before $\text{m}\bar{\text{w}}\text{y}\Delta\text{N}$ - “es steht Prädikativ statt Verbid, und Indikativ statt Subjunktiv,”⁵⁴ such a statement is meaningless in a descriptive context in which we attend to Old Nubian morphology, under the assumption that it is more an agglutinative rather than a synthetic language.⁵⁵ Note also the complex verbal predicate with copula and predicative-marked $\text{m}\epsilon\text{p}\alpha\text{r}\gamma\text{o}\gamma\bar{\epsilon}$ - (cf. §5.2).

$\epsilon\bar{\text{n}} \text{takka} \text{ti}\delta\bar{\text{o}}\text{i}\text{c}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\Delta} \text{m}[\bar{\text{w}}]\text{y}\Delta\text{nka} \text{a}\text{p}\bar{\text{o}}\text{i} \text{ellen} \text{k}\epsilon\text{t}\bar{\Delta}\text{ll}\bar{\text{e}}\text{nka} \text{[}\bar{\Delta}\text{]} \text{tekka} [\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}]$
 $\delta\bar{\text{o}}[\text{i}\text{k}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{o}}]\bar{\Delta}$
 $[\text{L}_{\text{rel}} \text{ein} \text{tak-ka} \text{tij-j-is-n}]\text{-a} \text{miššan}]\text{-ka}$
 2SG.GEN 3SG-ACC give.2/3-PLACT-PT2-2/3SG-PRED all-ACC
 $\text{a}\bar{\text{n}}\text{j-i} \text{ellen} \text{k}\epsilon\text{t}\bar{\Delta}\text{ll}\bar{\text{e}}\text{nka} \text{tek-ka} \text{tij-j-ikonnoa}$
 life-J eternal-ACC 3PL-ACC give.2/3-PLACT-FIN.2/3SG
 “So that all that you have given him you give them eternal life”
 (Jn. 17:2)

71

L. 106.14–16
RTA 17

The grammatical analysis of this sentence, with no less than four accusative marked constituents, does not appear straightforward, and it is helpful to look at the Textus Receptus from Jn. 17:2, which Browne identifies as the verse that is translated here. In Greek we read $\text{ἵνα} \pi\bar{\alpha}\nu \delta \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\omega} \delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\eta \alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\omega}\text{ῖ}\varsigma \zeta\omega\eta\bar{\nu} \alpha\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\iota\omicron\nu$, and at first sight it seems that the Old Nubian follows the Greek original rather faithfully, perhaps to the detriment of its own grammatical coherence. The purposive construction $\text{ἵνα} [\dots] \delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\eta$ “in order to, so that you give” is translated in Old Nubian by the (emended) final verb form $[\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}]\delta\bar{\text{o}}[\text{i}\text{k}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{o}}]\bar{\Delta}$, whose indirect object $\alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\omega}\text{ῖ}\varsigma$ is rendered with the accusative tekka and direct object $\zeta\omega\eta\bar{\nu} \alpha\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\iota\omicron\nu$ with $\text{a}\text{p}\bar{\text{o}}\text{i} \text{ellen} \text{k}\epsilon\text{t}\bar{\Delta}\text{ll}\bar{\text{e}}\text{nka}$. The translation of the Greek phrase $\pi\bar{\alpha}\nu \delta \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\omega}$, with $\pi\bar{\alpha}\nu$ “everything, all” in the accusative case and rendered in Old Nubian $\epsilon\bar{\text{n}} \text{takka} \text{ti}\delta\bar{\text{o}}\text{i}\text{c}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\Delta} \text{m}[\bar{\text{w}}]\text{y}\Delta\text{nka}$, is somewhat less intuitive. Note both the genitive subject $\epsilon\bar{\text{n}}$ and agreement marking on $\text{ti}\delta\bar{\text{o}}\text{i}\text{c}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\Delta}$ are explicit, to avoid any ambiguity. The King James Bible translation of the Textus Receptus gives the rather fluent “that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him,” whereas Browne translates the Old Nubian with “in order that, as for all you have given him, he may give eternal life to them,” with an inexplicable “as for.” Yet in both translations, $\epsilon\bar{\text{n}} \text{takka} \text{ti}\delta\bar{\text{o}}\text{i}\text{c}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\Delta} \text{m}[\bar{\text{w}}]\text{y}\Delta\text{nka}$ and $\pi\bar{\alpha}\nu \delta \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\omega} \delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\eta$ are appositions to tekka and $\alpha\upsilon\tau\bar{\omega}\text{ῖ}\varsigma$

54 SATZINGER, “Relativsatz und Thematisierung im Altnubischen,” p. 189

55 VAN GERVEN OEI, “Remarks toward a Revised Grammar of Old Nubian,” pp. 174–80.

respectively. Also note that the plural object marker -δδ in τῷδδῖσιν refers to the antecedent ἡ[τῷ]ουαν-.

5.7 Quantifier raising

44

Satzinger points out that it is “remarkable” that the construction with -cñ as discussed in §5.3 often appears in the context of the quantifiers ἡουαν “all” and ὅμιλ “everyone.” This fact, however, seems to support our initial intuition that a constituent marked by predicative and -cñ has moved out of its original position to a higher position (cf. §5.4). This type of movement in the scope of quantifiers is commonly referred to as “quantifier raising,” a result of the interaction between semantics and syntax levels of representation. I repeat here the examples given by Satzinger, which are otherwise grammatically akin to the examples adduced in the previous sections.

72

K. 22.4–9

RTA 53

εἶτα ἡουανασιν τῶλλ ταεεῶλο ἀγογγογλ ἀϊογῶεν· τῶλλόρο οὐεκα
εἰμεναῖνναλο·

[*eit-a miššan*]-*a-sin*_i [_i [_{rel} *till-il* *taŋs-il-do*
man-PRED all-PRED-EMP God-DET(sic!) name-DET-in
auou]]-*l-gou-l* *aiouil-en* *till-il-oro*
do-DET-PL-DET be.grudging?-PRS.2/3SG God-DET-from
ouel-ka el-men-d-inna-lo

one-ACC obtain-NEG-FUT-PRS.2/3SG.PRED-FOC

“All men who act in God’s name, when grudging(?), will obtain nothing from God”

73

P. QI 1 4.i.12–13

RTA 54

ἀφῖρα ἡουανασ{δ}cñ· ἀἰγῶλε πῖτεγλον ἀιμενταλο εἰλενγογλο
κῶκῶλο·

[*añir-a miššan*]-*a-sin*_i [_i [_{rel} *ai-agille pisteu*]]-*l-on*
living.being-PRED all-PRED-EMP 1SG-DIR believe-DET-C
di-men-ta-lo ellen-gou-lo kiskil-lo
die-NEG-NEG-FOC eternity-PL-LOC until-LOC

“And all living beings who believe in me do not die until eternity”
(Jn. 11:27)

74

St. 3.3–8

RTA 57

ONG §4.6a

ὅμιλδᾶγογῶεcñ ten ἄεῶ οὔαττολο ἑταγροεαγῶλε πιστεγολγογλλον
ταγῶλο εονόλ ἀογᾶῖννα·

*jimmil-a-goue-sin*_i [_i [_{rel} *ten ail ouatto-loi*
everyone-PRED-PL.PRED 3PL.GEN heart entire-LOC
stauros-lagille pisteu-o]]-*l-gou-ll-on* *tauō-lo ŋonj-il*
cross-DIR believe-PT1-DET-PL-DET-C under-LOC stand-DET
dou-d-inna

exist-FUT-PRS.2/3SG.PRED

“And everyone who believes in the cross with their entire heart will stand under (it)”

In all three examples we find that the constituent including the quantifier has moved to the first position in the clause, leaving behind the RC. Note that we have observed in §5.5 that in a neutral environment RCs always precede a quantifier. In exx. 72–4, however, we find that they all have moved and have been marked by the predicative marker -a and the emphatic marker -cñ.

45

Whereas exx. 72–4 all showed subjects containing a quantifier, the following examples all feature an object containing a quantifier. In each case the quantifier has moved up to the left edge of the constituent.

ē an p̄ḏṭa petrōci on oγpoy an eḡaegoyēke' oγllo eiēpa
 ɛ[ɛ]eiḏ mōwānaγoyēcñ' ioyḏaiōcpī mānē{·}kaiēiγoyḡa ai[ḏ]r̄llē
 aγeiōcanγoyḡka'

75

St. 8.5–10
 RTA 55

e an pidt-a petros-i on
 oh 1SG.GEN friend-PRED Peter-J C
 our-ou an eḡḡae-goue-ke
 2PL-J 1SG.GEN brother.PL.PRED-PL.PRED-2PL
 oul-lo eier-a [ḡei-a miššan]-a-goue-sin_i
 2PL-FOC know.PRS-PRED thing-PRED all-PRED-PL.PRED-EMP
 [t_i [_{rel} ioudaios-ri mamiskaei-gou-na ai-agille
 Jew-PL unjust.PL-PL-GEN 1SG-DIR
 au-eij-s-an]]-gou-n-ka
 do-PLACT-PT2-3PL-PL-?-ACC
 “Oh Peter, my friend, and you, my brothers, you know all the things
 that the unjust Jews did to me”

Note here the presence of both an overt subject ioyḏaiōcpī mānē{·}kaiēiγoyḡa and agreement morphology in the embedded verb aγeiōcan- (cf. ex. 69), and also observe the curious presence of the *nu* before the accusative -ka, which unfortunately remains unexplained.

onketalle āpoyāḡaramh' ḡimlāγoyēcñ tan ḡṭayp[ocḏ]ḏw teeḡγoyka'
 on-ketalle arouagar-a-mē
 c-also protect.CAUS-PRED-IMP.2/3SG

76

St. 29.3–6
 RTA 56

jimmil-a-goue-sin_i
 everyone-PRED-PL.PRED-EMP
 [t_i [_{rel} tan istauros-il-dō teei]]-l-gou-ka
 3SG.GEN cross-DET-in hope-DET-PL-ACC
 “And also protect everyone who hopes in his cross”

77
SC 7.14-16
RTA 64

ΚΟΛΑΤΚΗΜΑ ΤΛΛΛ' ΕΙΤΑ ΟΥΕΛ ΤΙΔΑΘΝ' ΟΥΕΡΛΑΩ ΔΚΑ ΘΑΛΑΘΟΥ ΟΥΑΤΤΟΚΑ
ΓΛΛΑ ΕΚΚΚΚΑ'
kolat-k-imma till-il [eit-a ouel tid]-a-sin_i
like-CONSUET-AFF.2/3SG God-DET man-PRED anyone-PRED-EMP
ouer-il-dō ak-a
mountain-DET-upon sit-PRED
[t_i [_{rel} thalas-ou ouatto-ka gill-a ηik-k]]-ik-ka
sea-J entire-ACC consider-PRED see-CONSUET?-DET-ACC
“God is like a man, sitting upon a mountain, who is considering the
entire sea”

46

I would like to emphasize again that in all above examples of cñ-topicalization, the topicalized antecedent cannot move out of its constituent, but only moves to its leftmost position, as in above example. This only makes sense under the assumption of head raising movement, a possible interpretative framework for Old Nubian RCS that I have referred to earlier. This becomes clear when we contrast exx. 72-7 with an example in which the constituent that is topicalized by -cñ is not the antecedent of an attributive RC.

78
P. QI 2 16.1.1-2
RTA 52
ONG §4.6a

ΘΡ<ε>ΘΕΝ ΘΑΛΑΘΙΝ ΠΕΣΣΙΝΑΛΩ ΤΛΛΙΝΑ ΟΥΝΕΚΑΤΤΟΥ ΕΘΘΟΥ' ΚΙΡΙΛΛΩΘΕΙ
ΙΕΡΟΥΘΑΛΙΜΙΝΑ ΠΑΠΑΣΟΥ ΕΘΘΕΝΩΚΛ:
[ōrese-n sal]-a-sin_i pes-s-in-a-lo_j
praise-GEN speech-PRED-EMP say-PT2-3SG-PRED-FOC
till-ina ounekatt-ou ηiss-ou kirillōs-ei ierousalim-ina
God-GEN wise-J holy-J Cyril-J Jerusalem-GEN
papas-ou ηissenōk-il t_i t_j
father-J holy-DET
“(It is) a speech of praise made by the holy wise man of God, Cyril
holy father of Jerusalem.”

Superficially, this example is similar to ex. 61, functioning as a sort of captioning to the text that follows, in this case a sermon on the four creatures. There are however, notable differences. First of all, it features the suffix -CIN, which we are by now acquainted with. Furthermore, it seems that the verb has moved out of its original position at the end of the clause. Observe also that the verb has person morphology, while the subject of the clause ΤΛΛΙΝΑ [...] ΕΘΘΕΝΩΚΛ is simply marked with a determiner, as we would expect in a regular sentence. So it seems that we are not dealing with an extraction of an antecedent from an RC, as is suggested by Satzinger, but rather with a different kind of inversion, based on a regular SOV sentence; the translation with a passive in English therefore only imitates the word order, but not the morphology. What we are dealing with is

ḳp<ε>cen cāl- starting out as an object of ꝓccina-, within the usual sov order of an Old Nubian sentence, but which is subsequently topicalized with the predicative and -cin, moving to the leftmost position in the sentence. What the head raising analysis of RC predicts, is that this type of long-distance movement would be impossible for antecedents in an RC. This seems to be confirmed by exx. 72-7.

47

6 Extraposition

Old Nubian is an sov language, meaning that modifiers in general precede heads. We have already seen that most attributive RCS, except for certain non-coreferential attributive RCS (§3.3.1), RCS of time, place, and manner (§3.3.2), and RCS in the scope of quantifiers (§5.6), do not follow this pattern. This situation can be accounted for through the head raising analysis of RCS, an analysis that is empirically supported by the existence of anaphors (§3.4), and the constraints on cñ-topicalization and quantifier raising (§5.7). However, in some cases we find that material is transported to the right edge of the clause, usually in a position following the main verb of the sentence. We speak of extraposition when a constituent is partially or fully moved to the right edge of the main clause, therefore appearing after the main verb in its original position.⁵⁶ Extraposition regularly happens in case of “heavy” constituents, such as coordinated noun phrases, as can be noticed from the following examples. Extraposition only seems to appear in the case of non-coreferential RCS.

ēñmon eñna aḫḫ ellen ketallen' eipoy t'alloḡ tiḏni aḡroytka eiāri' on
 eitōcoḡ iñcoḡci iñcotocka
ein-mon ein-na añj ellen ketallen
 DEM.PROX-C be-PRS.2/3SG life eternal
 [eir-ou till-ou tijn-i aurout]-ka t_i eiar-i
 2SG-J God-J true-J alone-ACC know-PRED?
 [on [_{rel} eit-iss]-ou iēsous-i khristos]-ika_i
 c send-PT2-J Jesus-J Christ-ACC
 “And this is the eternal life: to know you, the only true God and
 Jesus Christ whom you sent” (Jn. 17:3)

79

SC 9.11-14
 ONG §4.6a
 = ex. 21

The extraposition of the second part of the coordinated noun phrase that is the object of eiāri is straightforward, as it is moved to the right edge of the main clause. The extraposed clause eitōcoḡ iñcoḡci iñcotocka itself contains a RC without, however, an explicit subject, as

⁵⁶ Verbs marked by -lo or with affirmative or imperative case marking often move to a position higher up in the sentence. See also the commentary to ex. 80.

we would expect. Perhaps the fact that the subject is very obvious (i.e., God), allows for it to remain implicit. The interpretation of the verb εἶπαι is less straightforward. Browne rightly indicates a parallel, if fragmentary, passage in L. 106.18, where again we find εἶπαι ὡς ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐλάλει. Scribal error therefore seems to be unlikely. The parallel Textus Receptus of Jn. 17:3 has the regular active form γινώσκουσιν. Considering the fact that the entire phrase εἶπαι [...] χριστοῦ is an apposition to the predicate ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐλάλει, the expected morpheme would be a predicative -α. Perhaps we are dealing here with a weakening of -α > -ι. This intuition seems to be supported by ex. 38, in which we find εἶπαι ἀλλήλικα, again with an *iota* instead of an *alpha*.

- 80
P. QI 2 13.ii.2-5
RTA 29
- [ΓΟΔΛ] ΠΕΣΑΔῖΜΑ ΠΑΑΡΤΛΑ ΚῖΤΤΟΥΤ[Ο]Υ[Λ]ΔΕ / ΟΝ' ΕΙΝῆΓΟΥΝ
ἡκεριγογλαδεκελγογλ ἡαννω καει ΔΟΥΛΛΑΝ //
- ηod-il pes-ad-imma paar-t-la* [*kipt-ougou-l-de on*
God-DET say-FUT-AFF.2/3SG write-NMLZ-DAT people-PL-DET-C C
t_i *ein-in]-gou-n* [*šike-ri-gou-l-dekel-gou-l*
be-PRS.3SG-PL-GEN ruler-PL-PL-DET-C-PL-DET
[_{rel} *man-nō kaei doull-a*]]-n_i
DEM.DIST-LOC born.PRED? exist-PT1-GEN
“God will say in the writing of the people and the rulers who were
born there” (Ps. 86:6)

Browne translates this sentence with “The Lord will say in the writing: “The people and the rulers of these who are born here.” The issue with this translation is that it fails to account for the genitives on both ΔΟΥΛΛΑΝ and the auxiliary verb ΕΙΝῆΓΟΥΝ depending on ΠΑΑΡΤΛΑ, with the heavy noun phrase ἡκεριγογλαδεκελγογλ ἡαννω καει ΔΟΥΛΛΑΝ extraposed to the right edge of the sentence. The actual translation is therefore much closer to the Greek of Ps. 86:6 ἐν γραφῇ λαῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων... than Browne’s rendering suggests. The question however remains why the Old Nubian here uses the auxiliary verb ΕΙΝ-. Perhaps this again has to do with the weight of the noun phrase “of the people and the princes who are born there.” Note also that unlike the previous ex. 79, the conjunction ΟΝ' is left behind in the first part of the coordinated noun phrase. Note also that the verb ΠΕΣΑΔῖΜΑ has moved leftward, as can be also seen in other examples, such as exx. 32, 41, 77, 87. This leftward verb movement is supposedly related to the presence of the affirmative suffix -ΜΑ.⁵⁷

This type of extraposition appears to happen with certain RCS, where the entirety of the attributive RC is extraposed to the right edge of the main clause, that is, after the main verb. There seems to

57 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.9.10.

be a difference between extraposition of RCS that contain an overt subject and those who do not. Whereas the former do not repeat the case marking of their antecedent on the right edge, the latter do. It remains unclear, however, why this difference exists.

6.1 Relative clauses without overt subject/with agreement

49

...]λαππα ακαδακτακαρζ[*cñ*] \ [ταρι]α λιχκινδινδε \ τρεπιςιλα[ε]
 [παρ]ογ ουσκογρτñ`τογλ`δεκεννα δουεσαν
 [...lappa_i t_j] akdak-tak-ara-sin [rel tar-ia_i likhkhindin-de
 tabernacle set.up-PASS-PT1.PRED-EMP 3SG-DAT lampstand-C
 trapis-il-de parou ouskout-in-gou-l-deken-na dou-esan]_j
 altar-DET-C bread display-GEN-PL-DET-C-GEN be-PT2.3PL
 “(For) the tabernacle was set up in which the lampstand, altar, and
 bread displays were”

81

L. 111.3-6

In this example, the long RC with the incomplete subject ...]λαππα “tabernacle” as its antecedent is extraposed and placed after the main verb ακαδακτακαρζ- with an emended emphatic suffix -*cñ*. The RC itself includes both a subject in the genitive case and verb with person marking. The noun ουσκογρτñ`τογλ`δεκεννα contains a double genitive case marking both before and after the conjunctive suffix -δεκεν “and” (with regressive assimilation) with the plural -τογλ written on top of it, which I have tentatively inserted before -δεκεν, although we cannot be certain whether this is the correct position. In this and other examples in which the extraposed RC contains a verb with person marking, case marking is not repeated.

χη[λ?]ε [...] μι[.] γλκα αγογ[*c*]αν ουκογρ[*p*]ο αγογcan ταρε γαδῳκoλ
sēle ... [mi??ul t_i]-ka [rel auou-s-an oukour-ro auou-s-an]_i
 everyone mi??ul -ACC make-PT2-3PL day-LOC make-PT2-3PL
 tare gaj-il-ko-l
 bless.PRED rejoice-DET-PERF-DET
 “Everyone who has blessed and rejoiced at the *mi??ul* that they
 made, made in one day”

82

L. 32.3-4, 33.4-8
RTA 33

The entire clause ending in ταρε γαδῳκoλ is dependent on χη[λ?]ε from the previous page is a case of quantifier raising (§5.7). The verb form ταρε, from ταρογ-/ταρι- “to bless, praise” is supposedly marked by the predicative, with the common -i + a > e.⁵⁸ The RC αγογ[*c*]αν ουκογρ[*p*]ο αγογcan, with a repeated verb, is extraposed from the noun phrase μι[.] γλκα, and is, as in the previous example, not additionally marked for the accusative case.

⁵⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, §3.9.6.1b.

83

St. 16.4–8

RTA 30

ONG §3.9.14, 4.6c

καρκ ἀγ[λ]ενΔρᾱ εἰνῖ κο[η]κοαννοᾶ· ον γογῆᾶ τογλλῖς εἰνῖ·
 [kar t_i]-k [rel aul-en-d-ra ein-in t_j]_i
 shield -ACC save-?-FUT-PRS.PRED be-PRS.2/3SG
 kon-koannoa [rel on goue-a toull-is ein-in]_j
 have-FIN.3PL c armor-PRED strong-PT2 be-PRS.2/3SG

50

“So that they may have a shield that will save and has been strong armor”

We see in this example a construction that is essentially similar to the previous one, save for the clause *ON γογῆᾶ τογλλῖς εἰνῖ*, which is extraposed completely to the right edge of the sentence, after the main verb *κο[η]κοαννοᾶ* in a construction that is similar to ex 80. Note that although *τογλλῖς*, with a diairesis on the iota indicating a new syllable, is indexed as separate hapax adjective,⁵⁹ it definitely looks like the verb *τογλλ-* with a preterite 2 suffix *-ῖς*. In any case, the placement of a possible adjective *τογλλῖς* after predicative-marked *γογῆᾶ* would be curious, and something like **gouea toullisa* would be expected. Perhaps a predicative suffix has been lost here before *εἰνῖ*, cf. *ἀγ[λ]ενΔρᾱ εἰνῖ*, whose suffix *-εν* I cannot explain. *ἀγ[λ]ενΔρᾱ εἰνῖ* and possibly *τογλλῖς εἰνῖ* are complex verbal predicates as discussed in §5.2.

6.2 Relative clauses with overt subject/without agreement

In contrast with the examples from §6.1, in case the verb in the extraposed RC is not explicitly marked for person, it carries the same case marking as its antecedent. Just like regular RCs, these extraposed RCs may feature a relative pronoun. As yet it is unclear why an overt subject and/or the absence of agreement marking triggers the repetition of the case marking on the extraposed RC. Perhaps we are in these cases not dealing with extraposition proper as in §6.1, but rather with a full clause adjoined to the right edge of the main clause, in which the case marking signals which constituent the RC is coindexed with.

84

M. 8.15–9.3

HN, p. 208

ONG §4.6b

παπο εἶρου εἰκα ἀνκῖμῖναῖ εἴτογ ογῆννα εκκα Δενότκα
 pap-o eir-ou ein-ka_i ank-imin-na-i
 father-VOC 2SG-J DEM.PROX-ACC remember-NEG-PRS.2/3SG-Q
 [rel eitt-ou ouen-na ek-ka den-j-is]-ka_i
 woman-J one-GEN 1PL.INCL-ACC give.1-PLACT-PT2-ACC
 “Father, don’t you remember what a woman gave us?”

The extraposed RC *εἴτογ ογῆννα εκκα Δενότκα*, moved to the right edge of the verb *ἀνκῖμῖναῖ*, is marked with the accusative case, just

59 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, p. 163.

like its antecedent in the main sentence $\epsilon\tilde{\eta}\kappa\alpha$. The following two examples both show a relative pronoun:

$\mu\alpha\tilde{n}$ $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\pi\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$... $\epsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon\tilde{n}$ $\eta\tilde{n}$ $\tau\alpha\tilde{n}$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\tau\alpha$ $\tilde{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\alpha$
 $[man \quad koumpou]-ka_i \quad \eta\alpha l-en \quad [_{rel} \tilde{e}n \quad [tan$
 DEM.DIST egg-ACC see-PRS.2/3SG REL 3SG.GEN
 $ouskr-a \quad agor-iss]]-ka_i$
 place.TR-PRED forget-PT2-ACC
 “When he saw that egg that he had put away and forgotten”

85

M. 8.7-12

RTA 42

ONG §4.6b

51

The extraposed RC $\eta\tilde{n}$ $\tau\alpha\tilde{n}$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\tau\alpha$ $\tilde{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\alpha$, extraposed to the right edge after the main verb $\epsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon\tilde{n}$, is here marked with the same accusative case as its antecedent, $\mu\alpha\tilde{n}$ $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\pi\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha$ and introduced by a relative pronoun $\eta\tilde{n}$. A similar extraposition can be found in the following example:

$\omicron\gamma\kappa\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron$ $\kappa\alpha\pi\omicron\pi$ $\tilde{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\upsilon}\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\kappa}\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\epsilon\tau\alpha\tilde{n}\alpha\kappa\omega$ $\epsilon\tilde{\eta}$ $\epsilon\lambda\tilde{\lambda}\epsilon$ $\epsilon\lambda\tilde{n}$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa$ $\omicron\gamma\kappa\tau\alpha$
 $\tau\iota\tilde{\delta}\tilde{\delta}\tilde{\alpha}\rho\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\iota}\kappa\alpha$
 $ouk-k-ono \quad [kapop-i \quad aurout]-ka_i \quad \tau\omicron\eta\tau-anas\tilde{o}$
 2PL-ACC-REFL pearl-J self-ACC make.worthy-IMP.3PL
 $[_{rel} ein \quad [elle \quad el\tilde{e} \quad ou-k$
 REL in.the.future today 2PL-ACC
 $ouskr-a \quad tij-j-arr]]-ika_i$
 place.TR-PRED give.2/3-PLACT-FUT-ACC
 “Make yourselves worthy(?) of the pearl itself, that some day I will place before you”

86

SC 5.15-17

RTA 44

ONG §4.6b

The pattern of this example follows the previous one, with an extraposed RC on the right side of $\tau\omicron\epsilon\tau\alpha\tilde{n}\alpha\kappa\omega$, marked with an accusative case, just like the object of the main verb.

Sometimes the antecedent is extraposed together with the RC:

$\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}$ $\tau\alpha$ $\pi\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\varsigma}\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\gamma}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\epsilon}$ $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\rho}$ $\epsilon\tilde{n}\epsilon\tilde{n}\kappa\alpha$ $\chi\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\varsigma}\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\varsigma}$ $\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\tilde{\lambda}\tilde{\alpha}$ $\kappa\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\lambda}$
 $ai \quad ta \quad pisteue-imme \quad [_{comp} eir \quad t_i \quad en-en]-ka$
 1SG CL believe-AFF.1SG 2SG(sic!) be-PRS.2/3SG-ACC
 $[khristos-i \quad [_{rel} kosmos-la \quad kr-o]]-l_i$
 Christ-J world-DAT come-PT1-DET
 “I believe that you are the Christ who came to the world” (Jn. 11:27)

87

P. QI 14.i.15-17

In this example, the complement clause $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\rho}$ $\epsilon\tilde{n}\epsilon\tilde{n}\kappa\alpha$, dependent on the verb $\pi\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\varsigma}\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\gamma}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\epsilon}$ “I believe,” is marked as expected with the accusative case $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\rho}$ $\epsilon\tilde{n}\epsilon\tilde{n}\kappa\alpha$, although the subject $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\rho}$ appears in the nominative and the embedded verb is marked for person. The nominal predicate $\chi\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\varsigma}\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\varsigma}$ $\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\tilde{\lambda}\tilde{\alpha}$ $\kappa\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\omicron}\tilde{\lambda}$, which otherwise contains a well-

Bechhaus-Gerst notes that similar constructions exist in Nobiin, where the antecedent is carried together with the RC to the right edge of the main verb.⁶¹ She gives two examples:

- HN, p. 212
Nobiin

- HN, p. 212
Nobiin

84 εἰς τὸν κολῖτα ἐν αἰλῃ: εἰς τὰς οὐχ εἰσὺν [ο] γέννα τὰ ἀπο ἀκίμησικα·
 = ex. 33 *ed-d-rō* *kaj-ka_i* [_{rel} *ein* [*digl*]-*el*]
 find-FUT-PRS.2PL colt-ACC REL bound-DET
 [_{rel} *eil* *tad-ou* [*ei-gou-la* *ouen-na* *tad-dō* *ak-imis-s*]]-*ika_i*
 now 3SG-J man-PL-DAT one-GEN 3SG-upon sit-NEG-PT2-ACC
 “You will find a colt that is bound, one upon which no one among
 men has yet sat” (*Mk.* 11:2)

60 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary*, p. 167.

61 BECHHAUS-GERST, *The (Hi)story of Nobiin*, p. 212.

7 Preterite tense morphology

In his *Old Nubian Grammar*, Browne suggests that the distinction between the preterite 1 and preterite 2 forms of the verb is to be found in the broad realm of aspectual difference. However, he makes a cursory remark that the preterite 2 forms are always found when the subject is marked with the genitive case, and that in other cases the preterite 1 form is used.⁶² We recall here that a genitive subject only appears in non-coreferential attributive clauses. Therefore we could tentatively reformulate Browne's casual observation more rigorously: In order to express the past tense, preterite 1 suffixes are used within coreferential attributive clauses, whereas preterite 2 suffixes are used within non-coreferential attributive clauses.

Please consider the following typical examples:

ἔλο πινα ἰουδαίουτοῦ οὐροῦ οὐννοῦτακοῶ
 is-lo pi-na [ioudaios-gou-n ourou-ou
 inter-LOC exist-PRS.2/3SG Jew-PL-GEN king-J
 [rel ounn-outak-o]]-l
 bear-PASS-PT1-DET
 "Where is the born king of the Jews?" (coreferential)

90a
= ex. 5

κοῦμπου εἷ ταν'να κῑςῶ λουμαλ λουτραπ' ἄφρασα
 [koumpou [rel ein [tan-na kip-s]]]-il
 egg REL 3SG-GEN eat-PT2-DET
 doulmal doutrap añ-r-aḡ-a
 suddenly fowl live-TR-INCH-PRED
 "The egg that he had eaten suddenly coming to life as a fowl"
 (non-coreferential)

90b
= ex. 13

The first example shows a coreferential attributive clause οὐννοῦτακοῶ, with a preterite 1 suffix -o, whereas the second example features a non-coreferential attributive clause εἷ ταν'να κῑςῶ, with a preterite 2 suffix -c. This distinction holds for all previously cited examples.

The morphological distinction between these two classes of attributive rcs with preterite/past tense morphology may still be found, albeit sometimes morphologically or phonologically reduced (and glossed differently), in Nobiin:

62 BROWNE, *Old Nubian Grammar*, §3.9.7a.

91a *man* *buru* [_{rel} *ik-ka* *doll-o*] *ii*
 CF 502 DEM.DIST girl 2SG-ACC love-COMP4 NOM
 Nobiin *tan-juti-li*
 3SG.POSS-niece-COP2.PRS.3SG
 “The girl who loved you is his niece” (coreferential)

91b *man* *buru* [_{rel} *ir-iin* *doll-siin*] *ii*
 CF 498 DEM.DIST girl 2SG-GEN love-COMP2 NOM
 Nobiin *tan-juti-li*
 3SG.POSS-niece-COP2.PRS.3SG
 “The girl whom you loved is his niece” (non-coreferential)

And in Kenzi:

92a *tod* [_{rel} *een-gi* *jom-e*]-*l* *nog-s-u*
 = ex. 1b boy woman-ACC hit-PST-REL go-PST-3SG
 “The boy that hit the woman left” (coreferential)

92b *tod* [_{rel} *een* *jom-si*]-*n* *nog-s-u*
 NRC 2ci boy woman hit-PST.3SG-REL go-PST-3SG
 Kenzi “The boy that the woman hit left” (non-coreferential)

This morphological distinction between preterite verb morphology in coreferential and non-coreferential RCS is absent in Andaandi, although Jakobi and El-Guzuuli point out that the innovative preterite 1 suffix *-ko* is always substituted by preterite 2 suffix *-s*.

93a *ar in* *kaa=gi* *goñ-kor-u*
 RCA 8c 1PL DEM.PROX house=ACC build-PT1-1PL
 Andaandi “We have built this house”

93b *in* *tannan kaa* [_{rel} *ar goñ-s-u*]
 RCA 8b DEM.PROX COP house 1PL build-PT2-1PL
 Andaandi “This is the house we have built”

8 Conclusions

In this article I have given an overview of Old Nubian RCS based on a thorough investigation of the examples and explanations in extant scholarly literature, complemented with new material, both from Old Nubian and modern Nile Nubian languages. As I have shown, comparative evidence from modern languages is at several instances of invaluable assistance for formulating the right analyses for Old Nubian grammar.

Based on our observations as regards Old Nubian RCS, we could summarize our findings as follows, split along the three types originally described by Satzinger as “A,” “B1,” and “B2.”

	Coreferential RC (“A”)	Non-corefer- ential RC with overt subject/ without agree- ment (“B1”)	Non-coreferen- tial RC without overt subject/ with agreement (“B2”)
Relative pro- noun $\epsilon\text{IN}/\text{HAN}$	No	Yes	Yes
Anaphoric construction	No	Yes	Yes
Extraposition	No	Yes, with doubled case morphology	Yes, without doubled case morphology
Prenominal RC	Marked with determiner -ɪ and with restrictive meaning (left dislocation)	Marked with juncture vowel -oɣ, subject possibly in nominative case(?)	Marked with juncture vowel -oɣ
Topicalization with -cñ	Yes	Yes	Yes
Preterite tense morphology	Preterite 1 (-ɔ/-o)	Preterite 2 (-ɛc/-ɪc)	Preterite 2 (-ɛc/-ɪc)

Table 1.
Overview of
Old Nubian
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